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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2134

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MIDDLE EAST WAR BELIEVED PROBABLE

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 3-9 Mar 80 p 16

[Article by 'Isa Nasrawi: "Possibilities of War in Middle East; What Will Be Future Role of France?"]

[Text] Approximately a month ago, signs of a forthcoming explosion in the area began to appear on the horizon. Statements and movements of Americans, Russians and Europeans began to provide cumulative evidence of a broad confrontation. Syria and Lebanon were candidates to become a theater for a war with possibly more serious implications than those of previous wars in the region.

Four Possibilities

Palestinian and Syrian leaders asserted that the zionist enemy was preparing for a strike. Debate and preparation began to focus more on the probable course of a strike than on whether or not it would occur. The odds were narrowed to four main possibilities: An operation to occupy southern Lebanon, directed against the Palestinian revolution; an operation which covers all of Lebanon, directed against Palestinian and Syrian forces at the same time; an operation on the Syrian-Palestinian border which would focus on the Syrian Army; or finally, a broad operation which would simultaneously cover both Syria and Lebanon. A map was drawn of what the international situation would look like on the basis of each possibility to help determine which was more probable. The first possibility was given first place, followed by the second. In other words, the highest probabilities were that the war would be kept away from Syria itself. This was based on the assumption that any advance toward the Syrian theater would directly involve the Soviet Union. On the other hand, if war was limited to the Lebanese theater, Soviet intervention would depend on a request from the legitimate Lebanese government, which is absolutely unlikely to happen.

This line of reasoning would prompt one to retort: But why not consider that the American plan is to draw the Soviets so as to hit them in a spot which does not have the advantages of Afghanistan as far as the Soviets are concerned? Syria is far from the Soviet Union, and the Soviets are

not capable of providing it quickly with the needs of war against a strong and quick army such as the Israeli army. For this reason, giving greater weight to the probability of directing a strike at Syria depends on the first objective of such a strike, that is, on whether the Soviets are the primary objective. But this is a weak probability, because such a purpose has international implications which would immediately be felt beyond the Syrian-Lebanese borders, or, rather, beyond the entire area.

Of course there are those who regard it as unlikely that America would give the green light to the Israeli Government to wage war against either Lebanon or Syria. This is because such war would cause America to lose the gains she reaped after the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, by turning the spotlight from Russia to Syria. In addition, most Arab and Islamic countries would be forced to sympathize with the Palestinians and Syrians and denounce the American-Israeli war against these.

However, this argument weakens when the probability of war is connected to the [Palestinian] autonomy talks, because approving a superficial autonomy surrendering Arab and Palestinian rights, and recognizing occupation and Judaization of Jerusalem cannot be accomplished without directing a severe blow at the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon. Such a blow would weaken Palestinian resistance inside Palestine, if it succeeds in breaking the backbone of Palestinian resistance and the unity of Palestinian resistance organizations in Lebanon. This is why the months of March and April are considered most probable for a military attack by Israel against the Palestinian revolution.

Will It Be a War of Attrition or an All Out War?

Israeli's counterstatements emphasize that Syria is the one preparing for war, and that circles close to the Lebanese Republican Palace assert that they have information confirming such intention. Such information appeared in more than one West European or American newspaper or magazine (such as the LONDON TIMES of 15 February). This time, however, speculation focused more on whether a Syrian attack is likely than on its probable course. This is understandable due to the view that Syria is unlikely to venture into such initiative, because of the imbalance of military forces. However, this view is countered with the argument that Syria is capable of waging a war of attrition if she can be sure that it will not turn into an all-out war. This is possible in one of two situations. Either general circumstances are such as not to allow the Zionists to counter a war of attrition with all-out war as in 1974, or the Soviets provide Syria with a military cover. The latter situation is the more likely of the two, according to those who expect a war of attrition.

The idea behind this expectation is perhaps based on two arguments:

First, there is Syria's need to respond to the normalization of relations and other policies of Camp David. In addition, there is a need to launch

a military action which would strengthen Syria's position against all enemies and opponents at home, in Lebanon and in the rest of the Arab world. The massing of Syrian troops, the forcefulness of Syrian statements, and the Israeli statements themselves are mentioned as evidence in support of this argument.

Second, there is Russia's need to throw confusion into the Islamic campaign waged against them in Afghanistan, and to make the Americans and Europeans realize that the sanctions taken against the Russians are not a suitable way to reach mutual understanding with them and would have other results than those the West expected.

If this expectation is correct, it will follow one of two possible courses: Either a limited war of attrition on the Syrian front, or a powerful blow which could turn into a full war, a situation which could draw various armies into the area. This is supported by information gleaned from Lebanese-French communications on this matter (and is more credible following the French intervention in Tunisia). It is said that there are also French-British communications concerning this matter. Sadat's and Begin's repeated invitation to both the American navy and air force to come to this area complete the picture.

Has the War Been Postponed?

Some sources attribute the cooling off of the probability of war in the area to the actions and communications undertaken by the big powers among themselves. It would seem that each nation was careful to emphasize her readiness to intervene directly and her unwillingness to just stand there. This has forced all concerned to recalculate their position, and this is what is taking place now. But are they recalculating to organize a new hot war based on large-scale international intervention? Or are they recalculating to avoid such war, because it may have dangerous consequences which they may not be able to control. The first course [calculations for war] is more likely at the moment. This is in view of the extensive military preparations undertaken in the region and the movement of international naval and air fleets. At any rate, concerned circles do not feel they can depend on the second course [calculations to avoid war], even if they prefer it among themselves. In other words, the slogan now is "get ready for war as if it will happen tomorrow."

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

GULF STATES' SECURITY PROJECTS DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 3-9 Mar 80 p 17

[Article: "While Tug-of-War Between Washington and Moscow Continues, Gulf Nations Put Forward Their 'Security' Proposals; Saudi Arabia Wants American Bases, Provided They Are on Soil of Saudi Allies in Region"]

[Text] Recently, the sound of American military fleets ploughing the waters of the Oman Gulf and the Arabian Sea has been louder than the rumble of oil well drilling and extraction equipment. The waves of American navymen heading for the Gulf and of Soviet troops massing in Kabul have exceeded the lines of foreign workers crowding the majority of worksites in the Gulf region. World monopolists who jam the Gulf capitals' airports have been dwarfed by the appearance of personalities like Brzezinski, Clark, Hird, and, very soon, D'Estaing.

Severe winds will blow over this region, and the super powers are already preparing their vessels to set sail in anticipation of the storm. According to former American Secretary of Defense Clifford Clark, the United States "is ready to go to war, if Russia proceeds toward the Gulf." His words are not mere verbal threats. Rather, they are reflected daily in a programmed policy to buttress American presence in this vital region for the United States. This is because America's loss of this region would not be comparable to her loss of Vietnam. Her defeat there was moral and no more than peripheral. But retreat in this region could lead to rupture of the artery which supplies the heart of American commercial as well as military industry with the energy to pulsate and produce. This cannot be risked. Consequently, all precautions must be taken as of now, and defense measures must be speeded up to safeguard American interests.

Two Projects for Gulf Security

Information gleaned following the trips of American officials to this region indicates that Saudi Arabia is quite aware that her security depends to a large extent on the power of the United States and the size of her presence in this region. Saudi Arabia also knows that she cannot do without American

support during this phase. At the same time, however, Saudi Arabia does not favor open and direct American military presence. This is why she is for the United States obtaining facilities and bases in nearby countries which do not have bad relations with Riyadh, such as the Sultanate of Oman, or even countries which have good relations with Saudi Arabia, such as Somalia and Kenya.

In the meantime, and in keeping with this concept, Saudi Arabia wants to give the Gulf area in general, and Saudi Arabia in particular, increasing roles in any local security projects, be they under consideration or in the process of execution.

The Omani project which was proposed by the special envoy of Sultan Qabus during his visit to capitals of Gulf nations a few months ago, reveals Oman's readiness to establish in Muscat a strike force under the administration and direction of American, British and West German forces. There are indications that Oman already took a step in this direction when she converted the village of Khasab into a military base under the supervision of a British officer called Charles Holloway. At the time, an American military team had arrived in Muscat to study what it called "Oman's need for weapons and military equipment." This coincided with a significant increase in the frequency of calls by a number of American naval units to (Misyada) base in Oman.

The Omani project smacks of absolute dependence on foreign elements, especially America. This is not an unexpected or new policy on the part of the rulers of Muscat, because before the success of the Iranian revolution, Qabus continuously relied on Iranian troops whose number in 1975 reached no less than 3,000 soldiers, most of whom were based in Zafar and (Ras Misindam) which overlooks the Hormuz straits and controls navigation through it.

Neither Omani project conflicts with the "Carter principle." Rather, each project has certain characteristics which coincide with the "principle." In fact, there are common features between all three.

At present, American military efforts in the Gulf and the Pacific Ocean focus on two basic matters. The first is to find the means to transport troops and the heavy equipment they need to areas adjacent to the Gulf for use in time of need. This means looking for depots which would be under the control of American forces in times of emergency. The second, which is the only possible alternative, would be to build moving naval bases, namely warships with a huge capacity, which would require a number of years to do.

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FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFGHANISTAN INTERVIEWED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 17 May 80 pp 38-42

[Interview with Freedom Fighters in Afghanistan by Antoine 'Abd-al-Masih: "AL-MUSTAQBAL Interviews Afghan Mujahidin in Peshawar: 'We Will Practice the Islamic System That Was Prevalent in the Early Days of Islam;' 'We Kill Soviet Prisoners so They Would Not Fight Again;' Mujahidin Capture Weapons and Then Sell Them in Free Zone"]

[Text] Our small Fokker airplane took off from the Islamabad Airport, heading towards the Soviet West. After half an hour of low flight and fear we landed in a small airport that looked like [a field where] children play.

This is Peshawar, the city of dust and refugees. This is the city which Brzezinski honored with his visit. He incited its "freedom fighting refugees" to fight the "atheist conquerors." Then he flew over the skies of the Middle East and incited "the conquerors" to continue their usurpation of the land of the faithful.

There are faces that have little or no resemblance to Pakistani faces in Karachi or Islamabad. People's complexion here is completely different. This affirms the fact that races and ethnic groups are different in Pakistan. Even the language is completely different: whereas people in Karachi and Islamabad speak Urdu, Pashtu is spoken in Peshawar. Afghan refugees in this city, therefore, find no difficulty in dealing with Pakistanis because they speak the same language. Furthermore, there are blood ties and historical ties that bind together the population of the area on the Pakistani-Afghan border.

Peshawar is the capital of the northwestern province which was proclaimed a military region by the Pakistani government. Therefore, recently manufactured military vehicles are seen quite often. Re-painted military trucks left over from the Vietnam War are also seen.

I was determined to work alone without contacting local Pakistani authorities, especially after my experience with the director of foreign information in Islamabad. I ignored the laws that would have required me to contact the Pakistani Information Office. I was afraid I would be tied up in red tape and official directives that are common in countries with military regimes or dictatorships.

I secured the assistance of an Afghan refugee whose name was Tamin and who spoke English. I asked him, "Tamin, which is the closest refugee camp?"

He replied, "Camp Jamrud. It is about 20 kilometers from the city."

Tamin brought a taxicab after haggling with the driver over the fare, and we were on our way to Camp Jamrud.

Camp Jamrud is located on the main road that leads to the Khyber Pass. One can see military vehicles all along the road. There were policemen stopping cars and asking passengers about their destination. The rumble of the airplanes that were flying in the skies of that area was incessant. Tamin told me that there was more than one military airport in the districts of the city. I saw one of them along the road we took to the camp. The muzzles of anti-aircraft guns appeared frequently on both sides of the airport runway. This was because the Pakistanis were afraid of a Soviet landing operation.

We arrived at Camp Jamrud which is close to the famous mountains of Khyber. There were several hundred tents scattered in a vast plain. I asked myself, "What can I say to those refugees? Do I ask them what they think about the Soviet Union and the United States? Or do I ask them about the struggle of the superpowers over strategic areas?"

The first tents were close to the road. There were eight refugees eating lunch under the shade of a tree. The women, meanwhile, sat in the shade of another tree. There was a dish of fried eggs, a dish of cooked sweet potatoes, a dish of boiled greens, milk and a lot of bread.

They insisted with [characteristic] Arab importunity that we eat lunch with them, but we declined and said that we had already eaten.

What can one discover in a refugee camp but poverty and misery?

All that I knew about the camp was that it had 7,600 persons who depended totally on themselves for a living. They received no aid from any person or agency. The Pakistani government was the only agency paying each one of them 50 rupees a month--that is about 5 dollars. Some groups go to fight in Afghanistan, and every 10 fighters have one gun.

One of the Afghan students who was studying at the University of Peshawar was my guide to the first office of an Afghan Islamic party. The Afghan student hoped that I would not distort what the revolutionary leaders would say just as a number of foreign correspondents had done. But I did not find out until later why my guide had wanted me to go first to the office of Hizb-i Afghani Millat. The student was a member in the political bureau of this party. He interpreted [the conversation] from Pashtu to English.

The office of Hizb-i Afghani Millat is located in a humble two-story building. A visitor can immediately discern that the activity in this building is not normal. Afghans dressed in their traditional garb were coming and going, and slogans in Pashtu and in English were inscribed on the walls of the building.

We waited for a few minutes in one of the rooms before one of the leaders of the Afghan refugees from Hizb-i Afghani Millat, as he describes himself, came to us. He was wearing a clean, white cloak-like wrap that resembled the Arab dishdashah. He was clean-shaven and bareheaded, unlike all the Afghan leaders I had met. He was calm and composed, and he had the qualities of leadership.

After I asked him to identify himself and his party he said, "My name is Shams al-Huda Shams. I am the leader of the Afghan refugees from Hizb-i Afghani Millat. The leader of the party is Ghulam Muhammad Farhad who was recently released by Afghan President Babrak Karmal and placed under house arrest. He had been imprisoned by former President Hafizullah Amin. I graduated from the Military College in Afghanistan, and I worked in the Ministry of Defense for 10 years during the days of King Zahir Shah until President Muhammad Daud transferred me to the Ministry of Interior because of my political activity. I came to Pakistan 16 months ago during the administration of President Taraki after I managed to escape from the police who had surrounded my house in Kabul. The Hizb-i Afghani Millat was established in 1965. It is a moderate party that had a truce with the regime before the Soviets came in. Our basic slogan is God, the homeland and the people, and our policy is based on nonalliance: no East and no West. Like Khomeyni, we are against imperialism, whether it be British, American or Soviet. Our party has five basic objectives: to preserve the sacred rights of the people, including religious ceremonies; to preserve national history; national culture; the national economy; and a common national consciousness. But I want to explain to you that our party did not join the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan."

A number of Afghans were sitting with us in the room. They listened intently to the words of their leader, and occasionally they would nod to show their agreement [with what he was saying].

[Question] What is your current objective, and what are the means of your action?

[Answer] Our principal objective now is to liberate Afghanistan from Soviet occupation [by waging] a holy war against the atheist Soviets and the Afghan regime. We will continue to fight with all our capabilities until our last breath. We blame the Arab countries for not offering us the assistance that we need. (The rebels noticed that I needed an ashtray so they all got up to get me one).

[Question] What kind of aid do you want?

[Answer] We need financial aid to purchase weapons, and we also need economic aid. A large part of the aid is being given to Afghans who have been living in Pakistan for a long time and not to the real refugees. These Afghans have homes in Pakistan and have good social positions. We get our weapons by means of the battles we fight with the Soviet army and with the Afghan army. We capture their weapons. In the days of the Arab-Islamic wars our women used to sell their jewelry so they could send the money to the Arab armies that were fighting Israel.

[Question] But the Soviet Union is the only nation that is providing moral and military support to the Arab countries that are fighting Israel!

[Answer] The Soviet Union did not recognize Israel in 1948. It supports any group that happens to be on its side. The help that we are asking for stems from an Islamic basis. The objective [we have] is a matter of principle and not one of advantage. It is an Islamic objective.

[Question] Are you receiving military aid from the western countries and from Egypt?

[Answer] We are not receiving any military or material aid from the western countries or from Egypt; we are not even receiving aid from Pakistan. This is with the exception of some light needs such as powdered milk and blankets. But this is not enough for the refugees. The United States, the western countries and some of the Arab countries are playing political games with our cause. The United States wants to avenge itself from the Soviets who defeated it in Vietnam, and it wants to do so at our expense. I am appealing to the Islamic nations that love peace and freedom--and especially to the Arab nation--to help us because Soviet tanks and airplanes are bombarding the defenseless Afghan people daily, killing between 1,000 and 1,500 persons every day. Villages are being completely wiped out. In the province of Kama the Soviets attacked the population early in April, and they killed approximately 2,000 civilians.

[Question] Did they do that without a reason?

[Answer] In the province of Kama the Mujahidin [freedom fighters] controlled the situation. The Soviet army launched an attack with 1,000 tanks, about 100 airplanes and a large number of guns. The army began to kill and to destroy everything that stood in its way: people, animals and homes. We are thinking of buying cameras to take pictures of the destruction which the Soviet army is leaving behind. But we do not have the capabilities for doing so now. In one of the battles against the Soviet army the Mujahidin ate the roots of trees and plants for 10 days.

A grey-bearded Afghan shaykh who was among the Mujahidin who were present interjected, "I stayed with them for 3 days."

He went on to say, "Why don't the Arabs help us? We are imploring those Arabs who claim to be Moslems to offer aid to the Moslem Mujahidin. We have the same slogan, the same Islam. There are two kinds of aid: humanitarian aid, which we can get from any country; and Islamic aid, which is based on religion. We are asking the Islamic countries to offer us this aid.

[Question] Do you take part in the holy war?

[Answer] I am 70 years old. I fought British imperialism twice. I fought once with my hands and once with my feet. When I was a young boy I used to collect bread from Afghan villages and give it to my mother so she would give it to the insurgents. That is, I used my feet. In my youth I took part in an attack on the British in the area of (Kandah) in (Khabikh) Mountain. I cannot fight now at this age. My children--and he pointed to those who were seated around him--can fight. Look! The name of this young man is Rahmatullah Khan. He killed Bahram al-Din, the governor of Jalalabad and the commander of the army there.

I asked Rahmatullah Khan, "How did you kill Bahram al-Din?"

[Answer] Late in April of last year we were determined to carry out military operations. But I cannot specify to you the place or the date when the governor was to have been murdered because there are other groups of Mujahidin that are still working there. We were 65 Mujahidin [freedom fighters]. I was the assistant commander of the group. 'Abdallah Khan is still fighting there.

[Question] Why did you leave Afghanistan to come here?

[Answer] There are groups that go to fight and there are groups resting. I am now in a period of rest.

[Question] What kinds of weapons do you fight with?

[Answer] Light and intermediate Kalashnikov and Orinyov weapons, and old British guns that are 50 years old.

[Question] Have you ever seen a Soviet soldier from a short distance?

[Answer] The Soviets used airplanes and tanks at the beginning of the Soviet intervention. But these days there is face to face combat. Soviet soldiers are the weakest soldiers in the world when there is face to face combat. (Al-shaykh was gesturing with his hands to indicate how the Soviet soldiers would tremble).

I asked al-shaykh to explain what he meant by his gestures.

He said, "In the province of Kama when the Soviet soldiers walked down the streets, we would see them weeping and trembling." He went on to add, "Had the Soviets not used airplanes, poisonous gas and tanks against us, we would have been able to liberate Afghanistan in one week."

I resumed my interview with Shams al-Huda Shams.

[Question] Are you receiving any aid from China?

[Answer] We are not receiving any aid from China. I want to explain that the countries that are hostile to the Soviet Union--such as Pakistan and others--are trying to obtain aid from China at the expense of the Afghan question for the purpose of strengthening their own political situation.

[Question] How do you evaluate your relations with Pakistan?

[Answer] In general our relations with the Pakistani government are not bad. Regarding the economic aid that is offered by the Pakistani government to the Afghan parties, the Pakistani government gives aid to some parties. But Hizb-i Afghani Millat does not receive its legitimate share of aid.

[Question] The Islamic Conference that was held in Islamabad decided to offer aid to the Afghan refugees. This aid amounts to 400 million dollars. Have you received any of this aid?

[Answer] We have not received a single dollar, nor have we also received the food aid--not even a can of sardines. As far as Afghan parties are concerned, you can ask them about this.

[Question] How do the refugees of your party manage their affairs?

[Answer] Hizb-i Afghani Millat is not allowed to set up camps in Pakistan. In addition, the members of this party work as laborers, porters and construction workers. These are difficult and arduous jobs. This is our tragedy.

[Question] Why is that?

[Answer] Ask the Pakistani government and the other parties.

[Question] How many party members are there in Afghanistan and in the city of Peshawar?

[Answer] There are several thousands in Peshawar. In Afghanistan, there are several hundred thousands. Members of the party work in the civilian and educational sectors.

On the morning of the following day two young Afghan men were waiting for me in the hotel lobby. One of them spoke English well. They led me to the office of Hizb-i Islami Afghanistan which is led by Engineer Gulbuddin Hikmatyar.

There was an Afghan guard at the entrance to the building. He was carrying a Kalashnikov machine gun. He insisted on searching the two young Afghan men, but he did not search me when he saw my camera. Afghan Mujahidin like cameras, especially when the flash lights up. They stand up straight, holding on to their weapons and holding in their breath in front of the amazing lens.

We entered into an open hall that was crowded with Afghans. I followed the two young men to a wing in the building that appeared to me to be designated for the media. There were three young men typing in one of the rooms. Another young man was operating a mimeograph machine. In another room nearby photographs and slogans filled the walls. There were empty shells and some shrapnel from bombs and explosives on a small table. Two French journalists from French television were trying to find someone with whom they could talk. They found me.

I waited in the room with the pictures, the slogans and the shrapnel until one of the party's senior officials came. He told me that the president was not there and that he had been charged to speak on his behalf. Then he identified himself as the founder of the Political Committee, [and he said] that he had a masters degree in physics from the United States and that his name was Aminullah.

I asked Aminullah, "Why are you here?"

[Answer] This is a simple question. I am here to proclaim a holy war against the group that is in power in Afghanistan.

[Question] If you should win, what regime would you want to put into practice in your country?

[Answer] An Islamic regime in all its aspects, not only with regard to prayer and fasting, but also with regard to education, the economy and politics.

[Question] To which Islamic regime do you want to be compared?

[Answer] To the Islamic regime in the early days of Islam, that is, during the days of the orthodox caliphs.

[Question] You have studied in the most modern contemporary universities, and you have a masters degree in physics. You are living in the 20th century and [yet] you want to apply an Islamic system just as it was applied during the days of the orthodox caliphs. Don't you find an inconsistency here?

[Answer] An Islamic regime is good for every time and every place. An educated person will not find in the Koran or in the Sunna [the sayings of the prophet] anything that is different from what happens in life, even in the present age and in the future.

[Question] Do you have communications with the Moslem Brothers in Egypt?

[Answer] We have relations with the Moslem Brothers in the Arab world in general.

[Question] Do you have communications with the Egyptian regime?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Do you have communications with specific Arab regimes?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Where do you obtain aid?

[Answer] We obtain aid from Afghanistan and from some Moslems in the Arab world, but not from some of the governments.

[Question] Do you get the aid directly, or does the Pakistani government take it first?

[Answer] Aid from Pakistan comes to us directly, but aid that is offered to us by Islamic nations comes to us indirectly. Aid from the Arab governments is received first by the Pakistani government.

[Question] What about the aid that was approved by the Islamic Conference? Have you received any of it?

[Answer] We have received some of the aid that was approved by the Islamic Conference, but it was of no value. (He retracted this last statement).

[Question] Do you belong to the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan?

[Answer] We are not in the alliance.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] There are several reasons. But the principal reason is that our party represents 50 or 60 percent of the total Afghan refugees in Peshawar, Balushistan and other [cities]. Therefore, we do not agree that we should be represented in the supreme command of the alliance with the same ratio of representation of any other party or small community. We are hoping that participation in the alliance be fair with regard to the history and the size of each party. There is another principal reason, and that is that the alliance includes two parties which do not propose to establish an Islamic regime in Afghanistan. Some of the members of these two parties do not pray. There is also another reason: we have been reading in some newspapers that the United States and Egypt are helping some parties with funds and weapons. We want to verify this news, and, if this information is accurate, we want to know these parties before we join the alliance.

[Question] What are your means of action in the holy war?

[Answer] [We use] light and intermediate weapons like the Kalashnikov, the G-3, the (Birnau) and anti-armored and anti-aircraft guns. In some areas we use some tanks which we capture from the Afghan army and from the Soviet army.

[Question] Do you have prisoners?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Are they Soviet or Afghan prisoners?

[Answer] They are Afghan prisoners.

[Question] Don't you have any Soviet prisoners?

[Answer] Sometimes we do take Soviet soldiers prisoners, but we kill them because we cannot keep them.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because the Soviet army can launch an attack and free them.

[Question] But Islam forbids the killing of prisoners?

[Answer] This is the case with regard to countries. When we become a country, I promise you we will not kill prisoners. We cannot force the Mujahidin to stop killing the prisoners especially after they see the destruction and desolation that the Soviet army leaves behind.

[Question] How many Soviet soldiers do you think have been killed?

[Answer] I cannot give you an accurate figure.

[Question] (Can you give me) an approximate figure?

[Answer] About 4,000 Soviet soldiers.

[Question] The snows have melted and the positions of the Mujahidin have been uncovered. What is the status of the front now?

[Answer] This is our problem. We are resisting. We may have gone through difficult situations, but we continue to resist. Today we receive confirmed news that the Mujahidin of our party crossed the Afghan-Soviet borders in the area of (Daraqad). They destroyed a bridge and killed about 200 Soviet soldiers, and they captured two herds of sheep. We have a Soviet trainer who used to be an officer in the Soviet army. He is a Moslem from Tajikstan, and he is training our rebels in the area of (Baghlan), north of Kabul. This area has been liberated. One of the Moslem Soviet officers has also joined our ranks in the area of (Baghram) south of Kabul. This officer killed about 140 Soviet soldiers in the airport of the area.

On the western side of Peshawar, alongside the road that joins Pakistan and Afghanistan across the Khyber Pass the office of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan is located. It is a very modern building, and it may be the most modern building in all of Peshawar. It is surrounded by a wall that is 2 meters high. A few men were standing at the entrance to the building, and one of them was holding a Kalashnikov. As usual the guard insisted on searching us, but the camera was faster than he was, and it gave us a permit to go through easily.

Three of us went inside: a Palestinian student studying in the University of Peshawar, an Afghan guide from Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan, which is led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, and I. We waited for a few moments on the lower floor before a bearded man in his forties came to us. He was strongly built, and he wore the traditional Afghan turban.

The man told us, "May the peace of God be with you." He said that with a proper Arabic accent. This expression is very common in Pakistan and Afghanistan, but people pronounce it without the definite article. In hotels, they write it incorrectly as "Islam 'Alaykum."

I was surprised by the man who spoke Arabic just as a native speaker would. He is 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf, the new president of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan. He is 36 years old. He studied in the College of Law in Kabul, and then he moved to al-Azhar in Cairo where he spent several years. He then returned to Kabul where he gained prominence as an active member of the Founding Committee for the Islamic Movement in Afghanistan. This led to his imprisonment during the administration of Muhammad Daud.

'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf spent 6 years in prison. He did not leave prison until early this year. He moved immediately to Peshawar where he was elected president of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan in the place of Burhanuddin Rabbani. He was elected to that position without having been a member of any of the Islamic parties.

I asked President 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf, "What is the reason why a number of Afghan Islamic parties did not join the alliance?"

[Answer] Hikmatyar's party, Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan will join us, but Hizb-i Afghani Millat will not follow the Islamic course.

[Question] How accurate is the news that the United States and Egypt are offering aid to the Islamic Afghan parties?

[Answer] I have not seen anything from the United States or from Egypt come to the parties.

[Question] Allow me to share with you what I heard. Many people are accusing the leaders of the organizations and the parties of trafficking in refugees.

[Answer] I have been with this alliance for only one month. During this month I have not sensed this. I am not accusing anyone of benefiting from the funds [that belong to] the Mujahidin and the refugees even though I am not defending the others. Ever since I came to Pakistan, I have not seen that anything was being taken from the refugees [and diverted] to the organizations or to the leaders. Anyone who makes an accusation has to prove it.

[Question] How do you get weapons? There are those who say that your weapons are from China and from other countries.

[Answer] The Mujahidin fight with the same weapons that they gain from the enemies.

One of the Mujahidin came into the room, and 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf introduced him. He was Sahib Zahad Naqibullah, commander of the Military Committee of the alliance. Naqibullah suggested that we arrange a visit to the front where we could see the Mujahidin making preparations to go to the front.

I asked 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf again, "Can we see Soviet weapons or Soviet prisoners?"

[Answer] You will see many Soviet weapons, but you will not see Soviet prisoners. The Mujahidin kill them quickly because the Soviet army is quick to take action to save its prisoners.

[Question] But Islam forbids the killing of prisoners!

[Answer] The Mujahidin kill them because if they were to escape, they would fight them again.

[Question] But Islam commands that we protect the lives of prisoners. By killing prisoners, the Moslem Mujahidin are violating the teachings of Islam.

[Answer] Soviet soldiers do not give up. They fight until they run out of ammunition. Sometimes they surrender out of fear and terror.

[Question] Until now you have not shown the world the picture of a single Soviet prisoner!

[Answer] We can show the world pictures of thousands of dead people and prisoners.

[Question] Can we see these pictures now?

[Answer] I will look for them.

[Question] How do you evaluate your relations with the Pakistani government?

[Answer] The Pakistani government does not help us militarily; it gave us an opportunity to immigrate to Pakistan. Sometimes, it gives the refugees financial aid.

[Question] What is your estimate of the number of those killed in the ranks of the Soviet army?

Sayyaf asked Naqibullah, the chairman of the Military Committee of the alliance to respond to that question.

Naqibullah said, "Over 10,000."

[Question] One of the Islamic parties is saying that a Moslem Soviet officer is training the Mujahidin!

[Answer] I have not heard about this. This officer may have been taken prisoner.

I was not able to complete my interview with 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf. He apologized courteously because the executive committee of the alliance was meeting on the upper floor, and he had excused himself from the committee to welcome me. I asked him if I could take a picture of the committee while it was meeting, and he said that I could. We went upstairs, and the Palestinian student who was with me went upstairs with us.

There were eight of them sitting in a circle around a table which had a gun on it. I took their picture and I was about to leave, but the president asked me to stay after he talked with the members of the committee in Pashtu.

I sensed that something was afoot. A few minutes earlier the president had been in a hurry, and now he was asking me and my companion to stay.

Suddenly the president asked us, "Do you belong to organizations in your country?"

I realized what he meant immediately. He thought I was Palestinian just like my companion, and he wanted to know the truth about the Palestinian position on the Mujahidin. It was for this reason that he kept me and my companion, preferring to delay the committee's meeting.

After the chairman and the members of the committee found out that I was Lebanese, their eyes turned towards my Palestinian companion. They were very eager to talk to any Palestinian, and they also wanted to have their questions conveyed to the PLO.

Addressing my Palestinian companion, the chairman said, "What does the PLO think?"

My Palestinian companion replied, "I am not a spokesman for the PLO, and I have no right to speak in its name. The opinion of the PLO is well-known."

Then the chairman asked again, "Moslems are being subjected to Soviet aggression. Do you support this aggression?"

My Palestinian companion would not answer the question.

My companion was severely reprimanded in Arabic, in English and in Pashtu. Every member of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan asked him questions, reprimanded him and objected to something. There was a lengthy debate between the members of the committee and my Palestinian companion. The debate was brought to an end by the president of the alliance 'Abd-al-Rasul Sayyaf when he made this appeal to Arabs and Moslems.

"The Soviet aggression on Afghanistan has proven two important matters. The first is that when communism was intellectually defeated by Islam and did not find a rationale [to demonstrate] its innocence, it began to attack Moslems militarily in Afghanistan so as to build a wall on the Afghan-Soviet borders and prevent Islamic thought, which can overturn matters, from penetrating into Central Asia, that is, into the Islamic republics that are living under Soviet occupation. The second matter is that no country, no matter how strong it is, can impose its ideas on Moslems even if they are weak and unarmed. The defiance with which the Mujahidin have been confronting this red encroachment supports this claim.

"The Mujahidin are fighting the greatest country in the world, and they have not depended on anyone. They depend on God, the Almighty. This is a heartfelt grievance from one believer to another. We consider the question of Moslems anywhere in the world to be our question, but we have not felt the true brotherhood and the feelings that every Moslem should have or rather that all the Moslems in the world should have.

"We began the war with our bare hands; we captured weapons from our enemy and we are fighting him with those weapons. Now we are facing tanks with empty hands."

The vice president of Jam'iyat-i Islamiyi Afghanistan, Engineer Ahmad Shah insisted on being interviewed by AL-MUSTAQBAL because it was well known to him and to the members of the party. This was because it was the first Arabic magazine to interview the chairman of the party, Burhanuddin Rabbani more than a year ago. Therefore, after I had gone twice to the office of Jam'iyat-i Islam-yi Afghanistan without finding any of the officials, especially since Rabbani was in London, party officials contacted me three times in the hotel. Finally, one of the members of the party came to the hotel late one night and took me to the party office on a motorcycle.

It was a modern building. An armed guard carrying a Chinese machine gun stood at its entrance. There were many slogans, and among them was the text of the interview that AL-MUSTAQBAL had conducted with 'Abd-al-Qadir Rabbani, translated into Pashtu.

The office of the chairman of the party, Burhanuddin Rabbani was on the upper floor. His vice president AhAMD Shah, a graduate of al-Azhar University was sitting at the desk. He holds a masters degree from the University of Colorado in the United States.

I was surprised with what I saw: a very modern wooden desk and very comfortable leather chairs. At the same time Afghan refugees were lying on the floor in the same building in adjacent rooms; and several hundred meters away they were lying down on the floor in tents.

Ahmad Shah was involved in a discussion with four military commanders. There was a worn-out hand-drawn military map spread out in front of them. I understood that they were indicating the villages and the locations that came under the control of the Afghan and Soviet armies in one of the regions. One of the four men appeared to be more experienced and more knowledgeable than the rest. I asked Ahmad Shah who that man was.

He said, "He is a senior military commander, but he did not study the fundamentals of war in military colleges. He is also a theologian, and he is complaining about the scarcity of weapons. He came today from Afghanistan with a sum of money to buy weapons."

[Question] How much money does he have?

[Answer] 200,000 Pakistani rupees (approximately 20,000 dollars).

[Question] Where did he get such a sum of money?

[Answer] From donations from the residents of his town which has about 25,000 persons.

[Question] Where will he buy the weapons?

[Answer] He has actually purchased anti-tank bombers from the free zone of (Bajur). (This area is shared between Pakistan and Afghanistan and has never been under the authority of any government).

[Question] How did these bombers get to the free zone?

[Answer] These weapons were captured by the Mujahidin from the Soviet army. They sell them there.

[Question] Do the Mujahidin sell the weapons they capture?

[Answer] This is the nature of man.

[Question] What is the status of the holy war now?

[Answer] Before these days the snow was an obstacle for the Mujahidin. But now the snow has melted, and the Mujahidin, therefore, are coming to us by the thousands asking for weapons.

[Question] How much of Afghanistan is liberated land?

[Answer] More than 50 percent. The Afghan government controls the large cities only, but the rest of the regions are not under its control.

[Question] Does the Pakistani government make things difficult for the Mujahidin?

[Answer] Yes, the Pakistani government does place obstacles in front of them. The Pakistani army searches the Mujahidin when they cross the borders, and sometimes the army takes their weapons from them.

[Question] But I heard that the Pakistani government set up training camps for the Mujahidin!

[Answer] This is not true. There are no training camps.

[Question] What about weapons. There are rumors that you receive weapons from Egypt and sometimes from Israel.

[Answer] This is also not true.

[Question] Are you establishing a relationship with any Arab regime?

[Answer] On an official level?

[Question] Yes.

[Answer] No.

[Question] Do you have such a relationship on an unofficial level?

[Answer] Yes, with individuals.

[Question] From what countries?

[Answer] From the Gulf area especially, and sometimes with Moslems in Europe and the United States. We received once 20 dollars from a Moslem living in West Germany.

[Question] Quite frankly, there are rumors that some of the leaders of the Mujahidin are wealthy and that some exploit others.

[Answer] This is not true. There are some wealthy men among the Mujahidin, but these men were wealthy before the holy war began.

[Question] Do women participate in the holy war?

[Answer] In the region of Konar not too long ago women fought in the holy war. About 11 women were killed. In other areas the same thing happened. They hit the soldiers with wood. In the area of Ghazni, which is 150 kilometers west of Kabul, the women went to the Soviet soldiers carrying [what they said] was milk. But the milk was oil. As soon as they approached a Soviet tank, the "milk" would catch fire, burning the tank and the women too.

[Question] Have you received any of the aid that was approved by the Islamic Conference?

[Answer] We have not received anything.

[Question] Do you think the Pakistani government is taking advantage of your question?

[Answer] We hear from radio broadcasts that much aid is being given to the refugees, but we have not received any funds. The Pakistani government, however, is giving each individual in the camp 50 rupees per month. (This is equal to 5 dollars).

[Question] But I saw in the markets of Islamabad articles of this aid such as chick peas and beans. They were for sale at low prices!

[Answer] This is possible. But these goods are also distributed in the camps.

[Question] How much rent do you pay for this building? (The building has two floors, and each floor has three rooms).

[Answer] We pay 2,500 rupees. (Approximately 250 dollars) It is designated for offices only.

[Question] Where do you live?

[Answer] I live in this city, in Peshawar. I live with my brothers and our families, and we are 14 persons in a house that has three rooms.

[Question] Where do you get the money to support your family?

[Answer] I worked in Saudi Arabia for 3 years, and I had saved some money. This is what I am spending from these days.

(Question) What do you foresee for the future?

(Answer) I foresee a bright, radiant future under the protection of God and the banner of Islam. The power of Moslems and the power of faith are stronger than the power of tanks. The Arabs have been filling the banks of the world with their funds, while Afghanistan was being splattered with blood. If communism were to gain control of Afghanistan, the danger of communism will not be a threat to Afghanistan alone. Moslems throughout the world will not be able to rest easy about their Islamic [way of] life.

8592
CSO: 4902

AFGHANISTAN

'OFFENSES OF ZIONISM IN PALESTINE' DISCUSSED

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAMR in Dari 16 Apr 80 pp 2, 7

/Article by M. Palestini: "Crimes of Zionism in Palestine: the Atrocity of Dayr Yasin"/

/Text/ Who caused the Arab people of Palestine to leave their homes and their homeland in 1948?

This is a very complex, controversial question. A number of people believe that the people of Palestine left their homeland of their own will and by choice. Likewise, others say that the Arab countries promised the Palestinians, "Leave, because we are going to fight and defeat the newly-established country (Israel)." Some are of the opinion that the Palestinians themselves sold their land. However, Jews and imperialists say that Palestine was basically "a land without a people."

With the passage of many years of such lies and acts of deceit, and as a consequence of the publication and dissemination of such lies by the Zionist and imperialist mass propaganda media, a large number of people in the world have accepted these lies and provocations as fact and have remained far removed from reality.

When we state that the Jews basically lived in the various countries of the world and went to Palestine in accordance with the Balfour Declaration, and that it was those Jews who expelled the Arabs living in Palestine from their homes and their homeland through force and compulsion and by creating fear and terror with the help of the CIA and imperialism, that is assuredly correct.

One example of these barbarous acts by Jews against the Arab people of Palestine consists of the atrocity of Dayr Yasin which took place on 9 April 1948.

The command of this inhuman atrocity by gang of terrorists was assumed by Menachem Begin, the well-known bloodthirsty terrorist.

This Jew was born in Poland in 1913. He completed his studies in the field of law and was jailed as a troublemaker.

In the Dayr Yasin atrocity, he held the role of effective commander.

The village of Dayr Yasin is situated in the heart of Palestine, to the west of Jerusalem, and has a population of 700. Menachem Begin was assigned to command the occupied area around Dayr Yasin at a time when 150,000 attacking Jews were preparing to commit aggression against this village.

Today, all the people in the world know about the bitter facts and the tragedy of the Dayr Yasin incident. These vicious acts included the cutting of the throats of pregnant women, the brutal murder of children and old men, and the trampling under of human dignity. In spite of all this, through the efforts of the CIA and the lying propaganda of imperialism, the following facts have been kept hidden from the eyes of the people of the world up to now.

Five thousand Jewish assault troops proceeded to occupy Dayr Yasin. They killed two hundred fifty of the inhabitants of Dayr Yasin, including women, children and old men. The attack on Dayr Yasin was not limited to infantry troops--the first aerial bombardment prepared the ground for the advance of the infantry, tanks and armored vehicles.

The attackers invaded Dayr Yasin from three directions, accompanied by tanks, vehicles and aerial attack forces. Those defending Dayr Yasin, who were 85 in number, were armed only with light weapons. The soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force refused to hear or see cries for help from the defenders. The brave defense by the people of Dayr Yasin is memorable and a source of pride. For example, a woman named Hawah Zaydan, who saw the murder of her children and her husband with her own eyes, cheered and jubilant by their brave martyrdom, also took up arms, rose up to fight against the bloodthirsty enemy and also drank from the cup of martyrdom. In this bloody slaughter, which is an object of pride to the Jews, 40 percent of the attacking forces suffered casualties, by Menachem Begin's admission, and they were compelled to pursue and kill the Palestinian defenders house by house and street by street. And so it was, until this inhuman, mean slaughter ended. In the meantime, the British colonial minister, Churchill, sent the following statement to the United Nations Organization, describing this atrocity: "This vicious attack is further proof of the barbarous acts and ferocity of the Jews and is being added to the lists of their terrorist acts against the Palestinian Arabs." This minister wrote, "One's tongue and pen fall short in describing this oppressive act of terror, because these conditions were far removed from the feeling and conception of the British government."

A writer named Joh Kimche has described this incident as the ugliest black spot in the acts of the Jews. Dov Joseph, the former Israeli minister of justice, has stated that this attack took place by prior, premeditated knowledge.

Menachem Begin said, "Had we not been successful in this attack, the state of Israel would not actually have been able to come into being."

Through the above observations, it becomes clear that the Zionists and imperialists have dealt with and amended history to make the people forget, and, by sedating people's minds over their most vicious, oppressive acts, have cleverly and craftily performed a coverup.

The Jews imagine that the roots of their establishment on Palestinian soil is very firm and strong and that their military power cannot be defeated, whereas it must be decisively proved to them that the Arabs' determination is firm, their decisions are unwavering and their position is plain.

They will fight to their last drop of blood, their last breath of life and their last heartbeats.

The armed Palestine revolution, which began in 1965, shows the readiness of the fighting Palestinian people to martyr themselves on behalf of holy war and liberation of their land, that is, final victory. By accepting such self-sacrifice and martyrdom for the sake of the return, can one consider and impart reasonableness to the untrue claims that the Palestinians left their original lands by their own will or by the invitation of the Arab countries?

The Palestinian people's continuing, just struggle has exposed the lies of Zionism and imperialism and has clearly brought what had been hidden from the people of the world onto the stage.

This is the truth about the occupation of Palestine and the driving of its people into exile.

Another example of these treasonous, treacherous crimes against the nation consists of the signing of the Camp David agreement by Carter, al-Sadat and Begin, which took place on 6 September 1978 /sic/.

Zionism and imperialism consider the signing of this agreement to be a peaceful act and are promoting the peace prize for al-Sadat and Begin. Is America's definition of "peaceful" anything other than a hostile treaty and a military commitment which America has created to preserve its interests in the area?

Let them give a decisive, crushing response.

They proclaim their joint assertion as follows:

All the Arab people accept the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

We esteem the patience, courage, struggles, and self-sacrifice of the people of Palestine and their refusal to accept a capitulationist solution.

Because the heroic Palestinians are completely steadfast in confronting Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

They are preparing themselves for a long struggle to liberate every square inch of Palestinian territory and create an independent, democratic Palestinian state.

Long live the Palestine Liberation Organization!

Long live free Arab Palestine!

Long live all forces of peace and friendship in the world!

Death to imperialism!

Death to Zionism!

Death to capitulationist agreements!

May the spirits of the noble martyrs be happy and eternal!

Struggle until victory!

11887
CSO: 4903

AFGHANISTAN

FOREIGN CONSPIRACIES AGAINST NATION DESCRIBED

Kabul ANIS in Dari 6 May 80 pp 2, 5

[Editorial]

/Text/ The ruling circles of American imperialism, the self-aggrandizing chauvinists of China, and Pakistani militaristic reaction have intensified their overt and covert plots against the revolution of Afghanistan, its people, and the freedom and perfection of our country. The visits which have been taking place in these countries' capitals and their heated, lengthy discussions on how to broaden and deepen their criminal activities against our freedom-loving people and our democratic republic all bespeak the fact that the brilliant, increasing victories by the government and people of revolutionary Afghanistan have cast fire into the souls of all despots and enemies of the freedom, welfare and happiness of the peace-loving progressive nations of the world. The more powerful and firm the ranks of the toiling people and the partisans of peace and democracy become, the stronger become the hysterical efforts and endeavors by imperialistic, chauvinistic and reactionary circles.

The triumphant April revolution enjoys a special strength and power as a result of the inviolable solidarity and unity among the broad masses of our people, the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan (the vanguard of the class of workers and all toilers in the country), and their national and democratic government, and, with the passage of each day, its social foundations attain greater solidity in the depths of the masses and also increase the anxiety, fear and terror of the circles of militaristic reaction in Pakistan and the chauvinists of China, since Gen Zia'-ol-Haqq, the military leader of Pakistan, has gone to China to conduct detailed talks in order to plan further intrigues and plots there with his Chinese self-aggrandizing accomplices against the peace-loving countries of the region. Meanwhile, the freedom-loving people, progressive political parties, and enlightened classes and groups of Pakistan are expressing their solidarity with revolutionary Afghanistan and our nation's people in a decisive, extensive fashion. Even in these days when Zia'-ol-Haqq is engaged in discussions with his Chinese fellows in order to obtain further arms and plot against progressive movements in this area of the world,

many messages of solidarity and protection have been addressed by the people of Pakistan to social organizations and workers' federations in Afghanistan. Thus it is observed that Zia'-ol-Haqq's tendentious efforts to create unrest and inflame war are not only against our revolution and our people but are also opposed to the wishes and hopes of the people of Pakistan.

By sending arms and military equipment in league with the imperialism of the United States of America, the Chinese self-aggrandizers, thinking that they have obtained an opportunity to achieve their chauvinistic, expansionist goals, hope to turn Pakistan into the weapons arsenal of this area of the world. They are intending to use Pakistan as a fertile ground for and as partners in crime with archcriminal American imperialism in order to prevent the perfection and strengthening of progressive and revolutionary movements in the area by creating obstacles, so that the ground may thereby be prepared and readied for the plunder and pillage of the material and spiritual riches of these countries by the imperialistic and chauvinistic exploiters once again.

However, they must know that now is the era of the awakening and awareness of nations. In such a time, no force can prevent attainment of the people's will, and even Gen Zia'-ol-Haqq, who right now is rushing in every direction against the will and desires of the people of Pakistan and exerting unsuccessful efforts whose consequences he has not thought out, will very soon see the unpleasant consequences of his acts, and that will be the time when sorrowful regret will not benefit his condition.

As we are condemning the satanic, inhuman and repressive plans of the leading circles of Chinese chauvinists and the Pakistani militarists, we proclaim with revolutionary frankness that the people of Afghanistan are now so strong and so powerful that they can well and appropriately give a decisive, crushing response to any hostile act which takes place against our revolution and the freedom of our country. On the other hand, also, all forces favoring peace, freedom and democracy--in whose forefront stands the friendly fraternal nation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--are standing alongside our people and are prepared for every form of unblemished, friendly assistance and cooperation with revolutionary Afghanistan. Therefore no tendentious effort by the chauvinists of China and the militarists of Pakistan will bring any consequences other than their self destruction, and in any fires they set, their agents and those who cause them will be burnt before anyone else. The people of Afghanistan are moving forward with great, firm strides toward the attainment of great national honors. Victory will go to our people and their national democratic government. The treasonous movements and shameless interventions which are taking place by imperialists, chauvinists and reaction in the region cannot prevent the progress of our people and the perfection of our revolution. Our path is clear, our ideal is just and our efforts are righteous; therefore victory will be ours.

11887
CSO: 4903

AFGHANISTAN

U.S. DIPLOMAT ACCUSED OF 'SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES'

Kabul ANIS in Dari 4 May 80 pp 1, 8

/Article by BAKHTAR AGENCY: "Facts Regarding Robert Lissard's Destructive Activities against Afghanistan"/

/Text/ According to information obtained through investigations from various sources, the government of Afghanistan has conveyed information to the citizens regarding the destructive activities of Robert Lissard, the so-called American diplomat, against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Robert Lissard, an employee of the Embassy of the United States of America in Kabul, was expelled from Afghanistan in 1974 as a result of illegal activities which had nothing to do with diplomatic activities. However, in 1977 this diplomat-spy appeared in Pakistan.

The government of Afghanistan has at its disposal documents and reliable evidence regarding Robert Lissard's activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

In 1977 the American Central Ingelligence Agency, CIA, in order further to impose its imperialistic dominance on the people of Afghanistan, increased its efforts to soil Afghanistan's relations with the Soviet Union. It is clear that Da'ud's government gave America much assistance to this end.

Since 1977, John Joseph Reagan has assumed the leadership of the CIA spies in Islamabad and his assistant is the same Robert Lissard who was expelled from Afghanistan.

Following the April revolution, a shattering blow was delivered to the plans of America, which had wanted to turn our country into a servant of American imperialism, and, as a consequence, the CIA's sabotage activities against Afghanistan intensified noticeably. Lee Robinson, a CIA employee, Rogers Brook, and (Donem) David, who are considered to be specialists in government coups d'etat and organizers of acts of sabotage, were sent from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan to help John Reagan and Robert Lissard. This

five-man American gang is organizing and consolidating its activities with Agha Shahi, the foreign affairs advisor of the president of Pakistan, and Shah Nawaz, secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Agha Shahi has had previous connections with the CIA through his brother, Agha Khalili, who was Pakistan's ambassador to the United States of America, and Shah Nawaz had family ties to the royal family of Afghanistan, which has been overthrown.

On the eve of the removal of the late Nur Mohammad Taraki and the assumption of power by Hafizullah Amin, the sabotage activities of these reactionary groups against Afghanistan intensified. In August 1979 John Reagan met with the heads of the Pakistani Central Intelligence Bureau, Radhur and Elm; they undertook to engage jointly in activities connected with subsequent changes in Afghanistan. It is known that they had information in this regard; it was during this very meeting that the plan was drawn up for joint American and Pakistani intelligence activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Following the ratification of this plan Reagan held meetings with those generals of the Pakistani army, and they were later assigned to command posts on Afghan border areas.

Reagan and Lissard also met with Gen Hamid, Pakistani minister of information; they reached agreement on propaganda measures against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Lissard, together with high-ranking officials of Pakistan, proceeded to create the so-called Islamic Federation group to liberate Afghanistan, under the dominance of Borhanuddin Rabbani.

In January 1980, in a meeting with Borhanuddin Rabbani and Mohammadi, leaders of anti-Afghanistan exile groups, Lissard tried to unite the groups. He also attempted to unite groups led by Hekmatyar and others. However, all these efforts remained unsuccessful, as a consequence of the wilfulness of these people and the power struggle among them. All these facts are evidence that the American Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA, is continuing its intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The above documents and evidence show that American spy-diplomats are using Pakistani soil for acts of sabotage against the people of Afghanistan. Thus, the Americans have not only turned Pakistan into the main sphere of sabotage activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan--they are also posing a threat to our friend the nation of India.

11887
CSO: 4903

AFGHANISTAN

AMERICAN USE OF CHEMICALS AGAINST NATION ALLEGED

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 20 Apr 80 p 2

/Article by M. H. Rashiq: "Imperialism's Chemical War against the People of Afghanistan"/

/Text/ The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan recently raised the curtain from imperialism's new crimes against the oppressed peoples of the country at a press conference. Irrefutable evidence and documents were presented at this press conference showing that world imperialism, headed by criminal American imperialism, is not even refraining from using chemical weapons in fighting against the tormented people of Afghanistan.

With the exposure of these facts, imperialism's true intentions in launching a calumnious hue and cry over the use of chemical weapons by Soviet Union forces against the so-called "mujaheds of Islam" are made plain. In reality, through this intricate weaving of lies, they are trying to create a curtain of distance over their own destructive, inhuman acts, but these acts of deceit and fraudulence cannot conceal their evil intentions and the people of the world are seeing the loathesome face of these so-called zealous defenders of human rights in a clear light and are gaining further acquaintance with them.

The chemical weapon, whose use has been categorically prohibited by the United Nations, had previous also been used by the Pentagon in its vicious war against the heroic people of Vietnam. This weapon, which is one means of mass murder, not only causes the wholesale killing of people--indeed, the pollution arising from it can poison the environment for long periods, even for generations, and seriously threaten the lives of people and animals, and even the growth of plants, in the area.

The use of the poisonous chemical weapon by American imperialism on the sacred soil of Afghanistan makes one thing clear, more than anything else, and that is that the satanic forces and their domestic sycophants have finally lost all hope of returning to power and acquiring their lost

positions and are therefore engaging in the terrible intrigues and crimes, which, on top of the mass murder of innocent people, are to be considered a serious threat to the natural beauty of the country and its riches.

In conjunction with the party and government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the people of Afghanistan, in intensely criticizing these filthy, wicked acts of imperialism under the leadership of the "Yankees" of America, request all progressive, justice-seeking and peace-loving mankind to coordinate their efforts to neutralize the insane acts of imperialism and international reaction.

The intensification of adventuresome efforts by imperialistic and reactionary circles has recently caused the aggravation of international conditions, but this in no way indicates their strength. On the worldwide scale, the balance of forces is constantly changing to the benefit of forces on the side of peace, freedom, progress and social advancement. Imperialism and its allies are progressively acquiring a narrower and narrower scope of influence and activity in the world. This is causing them incessantly to increase their vindictive adventurous acts against the world socialist system, the international movement of the working class and movements of national liberation.

The disgraceful failure of American imperialism in Iran, and Afghanistan's strides toward a new life, have caused a severe weakening of imperialism's positions in the region. Therefore, the imperialists have resorted to feverish retaliatory efforts. We are sure that these efforts will get nowhere. Nonetheless, we request all peace-loving, progressive, democratic and justice-seeking people to stint no form of assistance to the people of Afghanistan to restrain imperialism and reaction, which are the common enemy of all toiling people.

11887
CSO: 4903

AFGHANISTAN

COMMENTS ON 'CARTER'S ABORTIVE MILITARY OPERATION'

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 6 May 80 pp 4, 7

/Article by Nir: "Carter's Unsuccessful Military Operations"/

/Text/ The failure of America's scandalous military operations against Iran has made the White House's evildoing and the filthy intentions of its accomplices even clearer.

The aggression against Iran's sovereign territory by American forces has once again shown that Washington accepts no moral limits or international rules in carrying out its adventurous policies. The exacerbation by Carter's administration of the issue of the American hostages in Tehran has proved that Washington cannot tolerate the existence of a national independent government which is against its desires anywhere in the world, because America declares places which have thousands of miles from its shores and harbors also to be part of its "vital interests"--in other words, it considers that its right to introduce conspiracies into any place or location, against anti-imperialist revolutions, is normal and natural. Another conclusion which can be drawn from this provocative measure of Carter's is that the president of America, in order to obtain more votes in the elections in the United States of America, is prepared to destroy world peace and crush the national sovereignty of an independent country.

Use of the facilities which al-Sadat has made available to Carter to carry out this aggression against Iranian soil has made the president of Egypt's hypocritical, fraudulent policy even clearer. He who talks in support of Islam has, in collusion with Israel and America, tried to crush the legitimate rights of the tyrannized people of Palestine and Moslem Arabs living in areas under Israeli occupation under the heels of his boots and, by signing the Camp David agreement, has accepted the shameful brand of treason against Arab Moslems. This time, by providing refueling resources for American aircraft which were headed for Iran to carry out an aggressive military mission, he has made himself the partner in Carter's crime and has once again established his treason and malice against a Moslem country and an Islamic revolution.

Carter's unfulfilled military operations in Iran have also further proved Washington's unstable policy. Whereas America tried to gain the support of its Western allies in setting up economic sanctions against Iran, it informed none of its followers when it embarked on this adventure. Washington's allies now can think further over whether it is necessary to receive orders from a source which is ready at any moment to draw world peace to the brink of annihilation through adventurous, provocative actions. Do they want to be the bearers of fuel for a fire which will burn everyone once it is kindled?

In the face of this military measure by America, let us now conduct an investigation into the propaganda from imperialist sources which are really trying to prepare public opinion in the Western World for the execution of such plans. A few days before the unfolding of America's unsuccessful military operations in Iran, such poisonous Western propaganda sources as the BBC were making propaganda to the effect that public opinion in America was supposedly forcing Carter to engage in military intervention in Iran in connection with the issue of the American hostages in Tehran, to the effect that Carter's opponents were criticizing him for showing too much softness and permissiveness on the issue of the American hostages, and so forth.

It can now be better understood what kind of action this sort of propaganda was prepared and launched for.

On 16 March 1980 the BBC broadcast a program forecasting that World War Three would start in the next 18 months. High-ranking British officials and specialists who participated in this program's discussion presented calculations and figures on the losses which would occur and the scale of damage which would be done in the event of a nuclear attack on Britain. They even predicted the targets of the attack and stated that London, Nottingham, and Portsmouth were among the 80 targets which would be hit by missiles. Two hundred megatons of bombs would be dropped on these cities; each megaton would cause destruction equivalent to 1 million tons of dynamite. The British specialists taking part in this program stated unanimously that war was inevitable, especially as concerned conditions in Iran, and recommended that the British people store up food for 2 weeks, construct shelters for themselves and prepare sandbags. However, at the end of all this provocation of fear and terror, in order to reduce their listeners' fear and anxiety, they stated that in the event the British relied on their own nuclear weapons, others would not be able to attack England out of fear of retaliatory attack and therefore the English people lest they be the firebirds of this hot war, should pay more money to procure new nuclear arms, bombers and submarines and bear greater taxes so that their government could protect their lives.

The conclusion of the statements by the participants in this program also brings us to a conclusion; we can clearly comprehend the connection of

this type of propaganda with the adventurous actions of imperialist countries like America and Britain.

The issue of the American hostages in Tehran has been followed by propaganda sources in the West and it has been exploited to show that America's so-called vital interests in the Middle East have been placed in danger. In the course of this, in the past few days, the head of the American intelligence agency attended a session of the Foreign Committee in that country's senate and presented a dark picture of the oil situation in the next 10 years. Following his statement, Senator Harry /sic/ Jackson spoke in exaggerated terms on the crisis which in his words the shortage of oil and the depletion of oil wells would cause for the people of America, and even on the oil problems of the Soviet Union in the next few years, predicting that the Soviet Union would turn to Middle Eastern countries to cover its oil requirements in the next few years. He attempted to voice a great deal of nonsense similar to these fantasies in order to make all America's movement of military forces into the Gulf area seem appropriate and, through deceit and cunning, to cause the people of America to think that they should bear the expenses of American military preparations patiently and with forbearance. Along with this propaganda, the government in Washington has been constantly strengthening its forces in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf area; America actually has sent thirty ships, including two aircraft carriers, to the Gulf, and is trying to construct 10 bases in Kenya, Somalia and Oman at a cost of \$250 million. In exchange for exploiting Somali sovereignty for military bases, America will give that country \$2 billion; likewise, in exchange for permission to use the territory of Kenya and Oman for military purposes, it will pay exorbitant money to those countries' governments as well. Since payment of military expenditures of this sort will impose further pressures on the American taxpayers, it is necessary that use be made of this false propaganda and fabricated news in advance, in connection with one issue or another, and that the minds of the people in these countries be prepared to accept the adventurous, warmongering measures of their governments, in order to bear the heavy burden patiently and with fortitude on behalf of the Washington government's policy of militarization of industry, which will entail inflation and unemployment for a further period for the people of the United States.

11887

CSO: 4903

U.S. ALLEGEDLY INTENDS TO USE FORCE AGAINST IRAN

Kabul ANIS in Dari 10 May 80 p 2

[Text] U.S. television reported last Wednesday that the White House and the Defense Department began planning a new military operation one week after the abortive military enterprise in the vicinity of Tehran.

A TASS commentator concerning this writes: It is completely clear that the first U.S. commando operation in Iran produced an explosive situation in the region and other parts of the world, and ended with fruitless and tragic consequences. If this adventure had not met with defeat from the beginning, the number of casualties would have been much greater.

The Pentagon's attack on Tehran would really have been accomplished by the warplanes of the aircraft carrier Nimitz participating in air strikes and bombing of the city and the districts bordering the U.S. Embassy.

There is no doubt that a new U.S. combat operation against Iran will come to an even worse end.

The 'problem' of the American hostages was used by Washington as a pretext to follow its aggressive policy in the Near East. The hostages are now being held in 12 cities and are really scattered all over Iran. In addition, Washington is clearly not inclined to remain restricted to Iran in the pursuit of its policy of military adventurism; Senator John Tower on Wednesday demanded that a special force like the Blue Shield be mobilized in the U.S. so that it could be used for similar operations in the future.

Furthermore, according to a Swedish television report, the U.S. has landed several thousand soldiers in the Oman shaykhdom.

The aforementioned report states that a Swedish military intelligence official acquired this news from one of his agents in Oman.

Based on the television report, Sweden believes that if this news is confirmed, it can be taken to mean that a new U.S. military base is being set up in Oman or that the U.S. is planning a new military operation in Iran to free the hostages.

According to another report, the NATO forces, by dispatching warships and planes to the Mediterranean, are not mobilizing to repel any aggression, but rather are training their forces for offensive actions.

Admiral Sheybor [transliterated], Commander of the NATO allies in the southern European region, has said that these exercises have been planned to show NATO's readiness to repel aggression on its southern flank but everyone knows that no one threatens the NATO countries on that flank or any other.

Yet the great power of NATO, the United States, not only speaks openly about the possibility of military intervention in the Near and Middle East in the vicinity of NATO's southern flank, but rather has previously striven to undertake aggressive actions against Iran.

It must be remembered that the United States undertook this dangerous action without contacting its NATO allies.

9597
CSO: 4903

'U.S. IMPERIALISM' PLANS TO OCCUPY OIL RESOURCES

Kabul ANIS in Dari 12 May 80 p 5

[Text] World-devouring imperialism always dreams of its own interests. It wants to profit from every situation. With this intention, like an old dragon it opens its mouth and stretches out its plundering arms in every direction. Justice, rights, and the dignity of all in its inhuman thoughts are a means to secure its personal interests. It recognizes no other sort of obligation whatsoever. It is a principle of imperialism to provoke an incident in some corner of the world, either by itself or through its servants, use this incident to gain its foreboding entrance, and at the price of the lives and property of innocent thousands, gain some advantage from it. On the pretext of defending beliefs, rights, and supporting this and that, it cunningly steps forward, shamelessly engages in provocations, bestially attacks the lives of toiling and suffering people, plunders the product of their sweat, blood and tears, and at the cost of the lives of millions of noble people, increases its own wealth and possessions.

Eventually the faces of the Rockefellers, the Carters, etc., make their appearance wearing the mask of humanitarianism and supporting human rights, and by distributing weapons, set one at another's throat. While today, through understanding social revolution, the people, who have mobilized during national-democratic liberation movements, neutralize every sort of imperialistic intrigue and plot in its inception, and strongly punch this enemy of peace, democracy, justice and humanity in the mouth until it surrenders to annihilation.

Our toiling and afflicted people have well comprehended the truths that blood-thirsty world imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, sheds only crocodile tears for the state of Islam, and has no compassion for Islam or being Islamic. If it had any compassion, during the past 30-odd years it would have honorably solved the Palestinian problem and would not have rendered the Moslems there homeless refugees by supporting Israel.

It would not have given Israel the opportunity for aggression on Arab territories, would not have turned weapons on the lives of the Arab people, would not finally have played the pander to the shameful Camp David agreements between the reactionary leaders of Egypt and Israel, and would not have unwisely trampled the rights of the Palestinian people.

U.S. imperialism's support of the Afghan people, on the grounds that a limited military force of the USSR has entered Afghanistan, is nothing more than a pretext, because its goal is to move its military forces onto the economic arteries (oil resources) of the Persian Gulf and Arab countries.

The U.S. Government shamelessly claims that the oil resources of the Gulf region are an essential element of the national interests of the United States; or that it considers the Gulf oil resources to possess a vital importance for itself, and on childish pretexts concentrates its military forces in the region. All of this confirms the truth that U.S. imperialism feels no compassion for the state of the people of Afghanistan or of any other country; instead it cunningly desires to secure its own interests and obtain access to the Arab oil resources.

If U.S. imperialism truly has humanitarian feelings, and defends the rights of the people of Afghanistan, why does it not give equal rights to blacks in its own country? Why are the blacks kept under social, political ignominious stain on the brow of the plundering, monopolistic, imperialistic United States.

The U.S. Government is not embarrassed that it considers the application of pressure on the Arab people and those of the Gulf region through military force, and the looting of their national wealth to be in its national interests. This is a clear reason for plundering U.S. imperialism to give the Gulf region's oil resources a vital importance for itself and to stretch out its greedy hands to them by using force. This means that the occupants of the U.S. presidency, and the owners of the big companies of that country who today control its economic and political power, first declare the wealth in others' pockets as their own, and whatever they find of value, they then seize with cunning and force.

These plunderers that stretch out their looting hands over the distance of thousands of kilometers; woe to the state of the helpless American people who will close their destiny with such sneak thieves.

World imperialism, especially plundering U.S. imperialism must know that the brave and heroic people of Afghanistan have always battled against imperialism and colonialism, that they will never forget this quality, that they will pursue their progressive, anti-imperialistic movement to the utmost, and that they will spare no sacrifice for the victory of this struggle.

9497
CSO: 4903

SOVIET 'GRATIS' AID LAUDED AS SIGN OF FRIENDSHIP

Kabul ANIS in Dari 5 May 80 p 3

/Article: "The Soviet Union's Free Aid Shows That Country's Traditional Friendship with the Toilers of Afghanistan"/

/Text/ Through a history of more than 60 years, under which dozens of economic and technical projects have been established in our country, the friendly relations and unblemished aid of the Soviet Union with and for Afghanistan show that the Soviet Union has in practice given assistance to Afghanistan in delicate stages of its existence.

As they take the first steps to implant their political independence, the people of Afghanistan are benefiting from the material and moral aid of the nation of the soviets without restriction or condition. Now that the people of Afghanistan are triumphantly advancing under the glorious April revolution, in particular its new stage of perfection, of the Soviet Union's assistance and solidarity with the peace and freedom loving people of Afghanistan has expanded more than before and is being carried out on a grant unprecedented scale in various areas of life.

In addition to more than 100 million rubles in free assistance from the friendly, fraternal nation of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan has also been given 140,000 tons of wheat in aid.

This aid shows the Union of Soviet Republic's traditional friendship for the toilers of Afghanistan.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the freedom- and peace-loving people of Afghanistan view this great assistance from the nation of the soviets with appreciation and are grateful for it.

In connection with the 140,000 tons of free wheat in aid from the Union of Soviet Republics to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the correspondent with BAKHTAR agency conducted a conversation with Eng Aziz, the director general of provisions:

In this regard, he stated the following:

"If a shortage in grain consumption is felt by the people of our country in terms of domestic crops this year, 140,000 tons of wheat as a grant in aid from the Soviet Union will make up for this shortage."

In the course of thanking the Soviet Union, this person stated "According to the plan, we ought to be providing this quantity of grain to meet the consumption needs of our people. Had this volume of wheat been purchased, it would have been necessary for us to pay about 1.5 billion afghanis; not only is this adequate quantity being made available to us free of charge, the money from selling it, a substantial sum, is in fact being transferred to the government account."

Eng Aziz explained this aid's role in stabilizing the prices of foodstuffs in the country's markets and said, "The importation of Soviet Union wheat aid makes it possible for the distribution of wheat to the central shops and markets of the country's capital and provinces to continue as it was. This in itself is playing a prominent role in lowering the prices of foodstuffs and other necessary commodities. Right now, in the remotest provinces of the country, such as Badghis, Faryab, Jowzjan and so forth, wheat is selling for 55 afghanis a sir, which is below the wheat price in the same months of last year."

The director general of provisions stated, "The importation of the 140,000 tons of wheat referred to from the Soviet Union will be completed by the end of 1980."

In making a positive, valuable appraisal of this friendly aid from the Soviet Union, he said, "As a result of this aid, the price of wheat and flour in our country's domestic markets will be kept stable."

The director general of provisions stated, "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, following the triumph of the new stage of perfection of the glorious April revolution, has given us, in addition to 100 million rubles in aid, basic materials required by the people of our country worth millions of rubles in aid, such as soap, oil, cotton and woolen textiles, shoes, petroleum, sugar, electrical equipment and appliances, stationery and other household requirements in the form of aid, free of charge and this is being supplied to the country's provinces."

11887

CSO: 4903

EGYPT

BRIEFS

TITANIUM DEPOSITS FOUND IN EGYPT--Cairo, May 27: Large titanium deposits have been discovered in certain regions of the Eastern Desert by Egyptian prospectors, the Middle East News agency reported here today. One of the deposits contained 30 million tons of titanium, it said. An American offer to exploit the find for industrial purposes was being studied.--APP [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 May 80 p 4]

CSO: 4820

CHANGE IN POWER STRUCTURE SEEN

Khomeyni Slipping

Milan IL GIORNALE NUOVO in Italian 15 May 80 p 30

[Article by Egisto Corradi]

[Text] Tehran, May -- There were nights in January 1979 when the full moon shone, and on those nights nobody knows how many millions of Iranians -- a lot, at any rate -- managed to descry in the face of the golden orb nothing less than Khomeyni's countenance. Swarming onto the rooftops of Tehran by the hundreds of thousands -- there was a curfew, the shah was about to leave and the ayatollah was about to arrive -- they cried out to Khomeyni, whose image they saw clearly as in a photograph: piercing eyes, beard, turban, and all. It was a splendid miracle, the equivalent of the ones that occurred some decades ago in Italy when a lot of people reported seeing statues of the madonna that nodded or wept. Even now, though, there are many in Iran who, so to speak, are still seeing the face of Khomeyni. A lot of people, certainly still in the millions. But a lot fewer than there were a year and a half ago. How many fewer I couldn't say: I have tried, but I have found no statistics on the matter. Yes, though: there are certainly fewer than there used to be.

In other words, and never mind about the moon, we can say with confidence that the charisma Khomeyni used to be so loaded with has lost some weight. The consensus that had formed around the ayatollah has -- again in part -- certainly shrunken. There has been a marked falling-off among the middle and petty bourgeoisie, in the important merchant circles in the bazaars, in some select circles of authentic scholars and savants of Islam, among university students, and among the many military or civilian people in the civil service who feel they were unjustly purged from their jobs in favor of "vanguard" elements. No question but that a sizable portion of the people still have confidence in Khomeyni, still swear by him. The hard core of these people is made up of the poorest of the have-not population, of the lumpenproletariat

in which this country abounds, and of bands of believers in whose heads faith ranks far above reason; then of course there are the many who profit by the Khomeyni regime. Nevertheless, there has unquestionably been a voltage loss. It could not have been otherwise, for that matter. The laws of physiology and psychology hold every bit as true in politics.

We shall certainly be asked how and on what basis a foreign observer can deduce or infer phenomena of the kind I am talking about, which certainly cannot be quantified statistically. (Not even the election returns, in this situation, can provide any reliable basis for opinion.) I should reply that they can be deduced from little things, signs that are small but constant, and hence significant. One such example is the behavior of the Iranians (at least those who live in the capital) toward foreigners. When adulation of Khomeyni was at its height, a westerner like me -- as happened several times -- might find that shopkeepers would refuse to sell him merchandise on display; or that he would be required to show his passport in drug stores to prove he was not "American." It was there all the time: you could feel it in the air right up until last fall: hostility not only against Americans, but against the West in general. This was one of the elements, and by no means the least, that made it hard to live in Tehran.

Things are very different now. Even though, by my looks, I may be taken for an American (since I am carrying an American newspaper), I am treated generally with more sympathy than indifference. If you are having difficulties making yourself understood by a street vendor, it is quite common for somebody to step forward and interpret for you -- in English. Sometimes a taxi-driver -- unheard-of behavior -- will run after you to give you the change you left with him for a tip. And it may happen that an ordinary citizen whose car you have mistaken for a moonlight taxi will refuse to accept payment for the trip and wish you -- in English -- "Good luck, American!" And that happened after the abortive American raid which, rightly or wrongly, could not help but fan the flames of nationalism and hence potential xenophobia among certain strata of the population. And if you then reveal your Italian nationality, the attitude becomes actually warm.

These, you will say, are merely impressions. So they are. But there are also some more factual data. Take the chador, the veil the women wear, for example. A year ago, 8 months ago, you would see perhaps one unveiled woman out of thirty on the street, and those you saw would always be very young girls in jeans. Today, perhaps fewer than 10 women out of 30 wear the chador, and most of them are old women or countrywomen just in for the day. It is clear that Khomeyni has lost the battle of

the chador, in which he was the great captain, so much so that even today he makes speeches branding women who want nothing to do with veils "filthy harlots." An attempt to make railroad workers wear Mao-style grey uniforms was consigned to oblivion by a single demonstration. Besides the battle of the veil, Khomeyni has also lost the little battle of the moviehouses. Who remembers the Rex picture-house in Abadan that was burned to the ground (with 100 people locked inside) while screening an ordinary American movie? In Tehran in some semi-clandestine cinemas they show red-light pictures, pure pornography never seen in the shah's time. Italian movies, they are, to tell the truth.

Young taxi-drivers from the big hotels (who know a little English) are violently critical of television, which now is all speeches and religion (Islam), with no songs. "You hear such criticism of Khomeyni as never was heard before," says an interpreter with whom I purposely rode for a couple of hours in jitneys, which pass along some of the principal streets, stopping anywhere to pick up anybody who wants to come aboard (as many as five or six people) and stopping anywhere to let passengers off. In half-sentences and whole ones, on whatever pretext, people spoke of Khomeyni, praising him as a liberator but criticizing him because he simply cannot govern. Just about everybody wondered aloud whether Iran is drifting.

There is grumbling and resentment stemming from inflation, now at 40 percent, from the lines you have to stand in to buy milk, from the scarcity of meat, and from flood-tide unemployment. Another finding, just as tangible as the one about the chador, came to me on May Day. Two days prior to that, the papers had published the eight great routes for marches along the eight major streets and boulevards the people's columns were to take to the American embassy. On that day, I personally walked up and down every one of the main streets of Tehran. Maybe I was just unlucky, but I caught nary a glimpse of a parade. At noon there was a crowd stretching maybe half a kilometer in front of the American embassy, sitting quietly on the grass or on the sidewalks. I'd say there were 30,000 people there, maybe 50,000. Be that as it may, it was only a tiny fraction of the 2 or 3 million who on 1 May last year had choked the streets of Tehran. A great many people are growing "depoliticized," in short, just as they have in the USSR and even more so in the socialist countries. Here, though, the phenomenon is occurring at a very swift rate.

I think I can say that the mighty fever of the revolution is cooling. As is quite natural for it to do, it is a matter. The fever is passing even more swiftly in certain areas where -- the shah and others had made easy predictions -- more or less violent centrifugal tendencies have surfaced. There are references to Beluchistan, to Azerbaijan and, to a lesser degree, even to

Khuzistan, the oil province. And more than ever to Kordestan, partly because the Kurds control something like 400 kilometers of the border. That operation on 4 November, in which 50 American diplomats were transformed into hostages, while on the one hand it may have helped, through nationalistic fervor, to keep the masses stirred up in a continuous "high," on the other hand it separated the summits of movements and "parties" which the ouster of the shah had found shoulder to shoulder. Even the less sophisticated levels of the population, once the chauvinistic exhilaration of the moment had waned, must certainly have realized the stupidity of the person whose idea the operation was in the first place, who carried it out, and who continues to "manage" it.

All that has been said here about the gradual chilling toward the ayatollah -- without, however, any signs of any counter-trend of sympathy for other political figures, Islamic extremists or not -- does not by any manner of means signify that Khomeyni has lost power, or that he does not hold it firmly in his hands even now. On the contrary: Khomeyni is stronger than ever. He has made himself stronger by putting hundreds of his own men into key posts, from government ministries to the universities. He has driven the leftists from the campuses in bloody disarray. "These young people who love the school as we see it," wrote his newspapers sarcastically, "are free to go out into the countryside and work for reconstruction. They will be welcome there." The framework of power still belongs solidly to him. For evidence, if such is needed, look at the "returns" of the elections of Friday, 9 May. Rigged or not, the result was the one Khomeyni wanted. No more, no less, despite the many efforts of his numerous opponents to stop him, if not rout him entirely.

Just whither, though, does Khomeyni want to take Iran? Who knows whether even he knows, himself?

Counter-Revolutionaries Gaining

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 15 May 80 p 13

[Interview with Parvis Raji, the shah's last ambassador to the United Kingdom, by correspondent Paolo Filo Della Torre]

[Text] Two divisions would be enough to take back power in Iran. Inside and outside Iran, the men of the old regime are busy planning the counter-revolution. The movements in Kordestan, Khuzestan, and Baluchistan are getting massive aid from abroad. The Bakhtiar faction has made an alliance with the military

in exile. Military training centers have been set up in Egypt and Iraq. The enemies of the revolution are positioned in key spots in the army, in the bureaucracy, and even among the students.

London, 14 May -- Khomeyni is a lot stronger than Mossadeq was 20 years ago, yet inside Iran and abroad, the men of the old regime are at work on plans for the counter-revolution, though they rule out any chance of the shah's return to power.

In Baghdad, as in Cairo and in Washington, the restoration forces have a good many friends in high places, and they have every intention of making themselves heard. Even as all this is going on, there is much talk of "fifth columns" in the army of the Muslim Republic; yet there is considerably more infiltration in the ranks of the civil service, and even among students living abroad.

We asked Parviz Raji, the last of the shah's ambassadors to London, for his opinion as to the dangers threatening the Iranian revolution today. Parviz Raji was very close to Prime Minister Amir Abas Hoveyda and had very cordial relations -- which he has lately strengthened -- with many spokesmen for the western political and industrial community.

"The forces in opposition to the present regime," says Parviz, "are divided. On one side we have the separatist movements which are so very active in Kordestan right now, as well as in Khuzestan and in Baluchistan; but if they were to succeed it would mean fragmentation for the country.

"These forces are receiving massive support from abroad, and the present government in Tehran seems to be quite incapable of putting down the rebellions. If they were to be successful, it would mean calamity for our country. Who could imagine the Iranian economy without Khuzestan's oil? And then on the other side we have opposition from the group led by Bakhtiar and the military leaders in exile (not to mention some who are still in the country) who, on the whole, are still in favor of the Pahlavi dynasty. Until a short time ago, any union between these two latter groups seemed wholly impossible, but things are changing now because the shah has, for all practical intents and purposes, abdicated leadership of the counter-revolution.

"There are, of course, disadvantages in the removal of the imperial throne. First of all, it accentuates the "middle-class" nature of opposition to the regime, making it a party representing the captains of industry, the technocrats, the cosmopolites who are ipso facto deprived of the advantage of playing on the emotional country people who are sensitive to the mystique surrounding the crown. The other drawback in the shah's withdrawal is

an economic one. Bakhtiar hasn't got the money to finance the counter-revolution, which calls for enormous funds. The resistance forces can count on the bare minimum of help, thanks to support from other figures close to Reza Pahlavi, but not one penny from the [Pahlavi] Foundation is being spent on the cause of restoration.

[Question] Is it true that there are training camps right now for counter-revolutionary troops in Egypt, in Iraq, and in California?

[Answer] I have no information about any such camps in California, but I cannot deny the existence of the other training centers. I am certain that two divisions would be all it would take to take back the government.

The armies of the Muslim Republic are a "Brancaleone army," commanded by generals incapable of leading and ever ready to go over to the winning side, with so-called "revolutionary guards" who give ridiculous orders to regular army troops, who lack training, whose weapons are badly maintained and who lack spare parts for them, who are totally ignorant of advanced technology.

Of the 800,000 Iranians who have quit the country over the past 3 years, a considerable number are officers and men of the imperial army. A military solution to the Iranian problem, however, seems at least for the time being improbable. Ayatolla Khomeyni wields enormous influence in the country, and commands great respect. I do not believe that the counter-revolution can win so long as Khomeyni is alive.

We in the resistance movement have our men placed in key positions in Iran, mainly in the army, in the civil service, and even among the students. I may add that recruiting is no problem.

The economy is on the rocks and the latest sanctions, while they may not have the impact the governments imposing them would like, will aggravate an already precarious situation: the country coming apart at the seams, the dizzying price spiral, unemployment already counted in the millions, oil production cut to a third, and a flourishing black market.

The best terrain for recruitment, though, is enriched by the dead dreams of those who believed that the end of the shah's reign would mean an open road to democratization and a return to morality for the country. The mullahs have succeeded in forcing their own change of course on the revolution, and that detour will certainly not prove popular.

Finally, there is the fertile Mediterranean ground, where opportunism and double-crossing are the rule. Hordes of these people

are eager to throw in with us the moment our alternative begins to look viable.

[Question] Were you disappointed when the American raid on Tehran failed? Especially when you compared it with the SAS victory in your embassy in London?

[Answer] I don't think you can compare the two undertakings. There were too many unknowns working against the Americans, on account of the long distances they had to travel; but there are those who argue that the American president was not so much concerned with the success of the raid as he was with the effect his attempt to free the hostages would have on the electorate.

6182

CSO: 4404

KHUZESTAN IRANIANS DEMAND AUTONOMY

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 14 May 80 p 1

[Interview with Leader of Khuzestan Arabs by Mustafa Karkuti during seizure of Iranian Embassy in London]

(Text) The correspondent of AL-SAFIR in London, Mustafa Karkuti spent 5 days with the hostages at the Iranian Embassy when it was occupied by armed men from Arabistan. He had gone to the embassy to have the news about the French mediation effort between the United States and Iran disproved or confirmed. Twelve minutes later he found himself detained and controlled by weapons. But Karkuti soon became the liaison between the armed group and the world, and to a certain extent he became "the negotiator who was persuading them to be patient and reasonable."

Mustafa Karkuti left the embassy on the fifth day. He was taken to the hospital with severe intestinal and stomach pains. Cautiously he stopped moving his arm and his leg.

When he left the hospital, he found himself to be the target of his colleagues, the journalists, and a source of news for them.

But the full story of the operation, the story of the days, the hours, the minutes and the seconds of difficult tension in an interval of time which he spent between death and life has not yet been published. This story was written by Mustafa Karkuti, and it will be published by AL-SAFIR tomorrow.

Because he was able from the very first moments to change his relationship with the armed group from that of a "hostage" to that of a "negotiator," he was able to conduct a political interview, while he was being detained, with 'Awān or Salim or Sam'un the leader of the operation who lost his life when British troops stormed the embassy. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] Who are you, and how did you come to this stage of political action?

[Answer] My name is 'Awan or Salim. In the future you will hear of me as Sam'un. I am 27 years old, and I come from a fairly well-to-do family. I was thus able to get an education and to go to the university of Tehran where I graduated from its Institute of Languages. I have been active in political struggles ever since I was in secondary school. When I was in the university, I took part in the struggles of the Iranian students. I was in the Shah's prisons, and I was subjected to torture by Savak. The effects of this torture are still evident on my back. I am not married.

[Question] What is your understanding of the mission you are carrying out now?

[Answer] I can answer this question immediately by saying that this mission is one of self-defense. But I must explain to you that our self-defense is confined to resisting the continued attempts to "Persianize" the Arabs of Arabistan. These attempts were begun by the deposed Shah in 1953. The "Persianizing" operations that were carried out by the Shah were vicious and harsh to the point that 85 percent of the population of Arabistan is illiterate. They do not know the Persian or the Arabic languages. Arab Iranians have turned into a source of cheap labor. The ratio of official civil servants who are Arabs in the governmental departments of the region does not exceed 5 percent. There are no Arab Iranians who are heading departments. In addition, there is not a single Arab officer with a rank higher than that of captain.

[Question] What are your demands now?

[Answer] We want autonomy for the region, and we want to restore to it the name, Arabistan, instead of the official name of Khuzestan. When we say autonomy, we do not mean that this would include oil, the economy and foreign policy. These are sectors that would remain subject to the authority of the central government of Tehran. During the sixties and until the mid-seventies there are two organizations: the Arabistan Liberation Front and the Ahvaz Liberation Front. These organizations wanted to separate completely from Iran and to unite with Iraq. These two organizations were disbanded a little before the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution. Our political course was re-formulated and the Political Organization for the People of Arabistan was formed after the revolution failed to achieve our demands that are defined by granting us autonomy.

[Question] What was the framework of your political activity before the organization was formed and after the two former organizations were disbanded?

[Answer] After the two organizations were disbanded and the revolution broke out, we formed a committee to represent the residents of the province. It was made up of 30 members, and it used to present our demands to the

authorities. I was a member of this committee. The committee met several times with Bazarjan, the former Iranian prime minister, and with the help of Amir-Entezam it also met with the governor of Arabistan Gen [sic] Ahmad Madni. Furthermore, delegations went to Qom to meet with Ayatollah Khomeyni. But none of these actions achieved any results. We therefore resorted to staging popular demonstrations to ask for our rights in the context of autonomy. The government's response was always violent to the degree of shooting at the demonstrators.

[Question] Was there some incident that led you and the political organization to which you belong to decide to respond to the Iranian Government with similar violent actions such as the one you are leading now?

[Answer] Yes, there was what we refer to as the incident at the city of al-Muhammarah. There was a large-scale fight between the government's official and popular troops and the Arab demonstrators. This fight resulted in the death of 220 people and injuries to about 600 persons. This incident occurred on 29/5/1979. For us it was the straw that broke the camel's back with regard to relations between us and the central government.

[Question] What is the immediate objective that you think will be achieved as a result of the mission that you are now leading?

[Answer] Our objective is publicity. I realize that this operation and other similar operations we expect will take place in the future will not help us realize our legitimate demands and may not force the Iranian Government to grant autonomy to the province of Arabistan. But what we can achieve by this mode of action is to make our voices heard by world public opinion, and especially in the light of the publicity restrictions that are imposed on us by the central government in Tehran, by most of the Arab countries and by the world media.

[Question] Do we understand from this that this operation will end peacefully with the release of the hostages?

[Answer] We hope that this will come about. But this depends on the British authorities and the Arab ambassadors. I can assure you that we want to end this operation peacefully.

8592

CSO: 4902

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR BEING AIRED

Worker's Call for War

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 3 May 80 p 3

/Articles: "Hundreds of Thousands of Workers Demand That War Be Declared against American Imperialism"/

/Text/ The workers and toiling people of Iran celebrated the occasion of 1 May, international workers' day, in various cities by holding meetings and parades, and once again demonstrated their international solidarity and unity and, in condemning the shameful conspiracies of imperialism, declared their readiness to confront these conspiracies.

In Tehran, as well as in other cities of Iran, large meetings and parades were held to commemorate international workers' day. Starting at 0900 hours in the morning, the workers proceeded in organized ranks in nine parades toward the American spy nest, holding posters and shouting slogans on the subject of international workers' day.

At 0900 hours the first group of workers, who had proceeded from the city park holding pictures of Emam Khomeyni in hand along with the slogans "Islam is triumphant," "America is destroyed," "Islam is Triumphant," and "The right and the left are destroyed," passed through Ferdowsi Avenue. At Emam Khomeyni Square another group of people, on each of whose chest a red flower could be seen, gathered; some people in this square shouted slogans against that group and thus the people demanded that they refrain from this activity on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior.

At 1000 hours in the morning the paraders who had been proceeding along various routes came up to the spy nest. A large number of workers were standing in organized ranks in workers' clothing. A number of workers were holding posters with this message: "We Moslem workers will crush the economic boycott of imperialism with greater efforts and will fight America with our calloused hands, through the weapon of faith in the emam's path." On another cloth banner, this slogan was observed: "The Moslem workers are the strong arms of the revolution."

After the parades had completely passed before the spy nest, Imam Khomeyni's message on the occasion of international workers' day was first read out and representatives of the groups then raised issues on the occasion of international workers' day.

The workers' anthem was then sung by a group of workers, and workers who had received military instruction in factories to confront an American military attack then paraded before the spy nest. The people urged them on with cries of "hail to the workers", tossing flowers and giving applause.

After the workers' parade, a message by Moslem university students following the path of the Imam on the occasion of international workers' day was then read out to those in attendance by one of the students. After the conclusion of this message, the group in attendance cried out in one voice "The American spies must be found guilty in the Islamic court."

At 1130 hours in the morning, Hojjatoleslam Kho'eyniha gave a speech to those present. In sections of his speech, he stated, "During the first revolution, your direct enemy was the treacherous Mohammad Reza Khan, the shameful court and hireling agents, but today the enemy who was working behind the curtain during the first revolution is standing before you. Today your enemy is the criminal American government. We do not need to find people who will set off bombs and blow up the workers. Those of course we do find, but in reality it is the person of Carter and the American government which are carrying out such acts of sabotage inside Iran, because our path is the path of the Imam and our enemy is the American government. The Imam's emphasis is on the fact that today is a day of work and production, and the person who causes factories to shut down and sets fire to rubbish is on the path of counterrevolution, the path of Carter."

After conclusion of the speech by Hojjatoleslam Ho'eyniha, another worker spoke of the need to create Islamic councils in the factories, and this met with the support of the crowd. The group of Islamic student organizations and societies also read out their manifesto at this meeting, as follows, on this occasion:

"1. Once again the Moslem workers of Iran have proclaimed their total adherence to the path of Imam Khomeyni and their repeated support for Mr Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr, the president, and the Revolutionary Council.

"2. We workers salute and congratulate the Imam and the heroic nation of Iran on the anniversary of the martyrdom of the martyred Professor Motahhari and request that the thoughts of this martyred professor be disseminated throughout society.

"3. In our renewed support for the students following the path of the Imam, we request that all documents be published and that Iranian spies be arrested and tried.

"4. We demand the return and trial of the treasonous Shah and the American spies and demand that the government categorically confront America and its domestic agents and be assured that the downtrodden of Iran, especially the workers, will stint no efforts with regard to the workers.

"5. In condemning America's aggression by air and the economic boycotts adopted by Carter and his allies, we request the workers of the world, especially the workers of America, to rise up to confront Carter's insane acts.

"6. We request the Army of Guards, the Army of the Islamic Republic and the 20-million-man army to increase its vigilance and be watchful because this time the Americans will come in by land and by sea.

"7. We request the government to declare a state of war to confront American imperialism and categorically to treat the counterrevolution and any group or clique which cooperates directly or indirectly with America in accordance with laws governing the state of war.

"8. We demand that a national, self-sufficient industry be created in accordance with a renunciation of exploitative relationships.

"9. The government must frankly rise to a serious confrontation against unemployment by creating loan and labor foundations and industrial and agricultural cooperatives throughout the cities and rural areas.

"10. We demand that the government, which has reduced this enormous administrative system which is fed by the blood of the downtrodden, send manpower to work productively in the towns and small villages.

"11. We demand that satanic relationships, especially economic relations which remain from the previous regime, be destroyed and we demand that an Islamic economic system in which there will be no trace of exploitation or mercenary activity be created.

"12. The charters of the factory councils, those genuine Islamic structures, must be codified as soon as possible through review by factory council representatives and ratified so that existing conflicts in factories may be eliminated by clarifying regulations.

"13. We demand that the former Labor Law be abrogated and that a new labor law be codified under the aegis of the workers.

"14. We support the struggle by the downtrodden of the earth against the haughty and the archimperial, from Afghanistan to Eritrea and from Palestine to the Philippines, and we demand that the emam's decree concerning worldwide formation of a party of the downtrodden and its close solidarity against the dominant superpowers be carried out.

"15. We demand that the rug of the decadent dependent imperial culture be rolled up from within the universities, schools and other levels and we request that deviants and propagandizers dependent on eastern and western cultures be liquidated.

"16. The voice and the face of the Islamic Republic of Iran must express the concerns of the downtrodden of the society and convey the revolutionary thinking and culture of Islam. We request officials to make hours on radio and television available to the workers themselves to express the workers' concerns.

"Peace on the devout worshippers of God.

"The workers' day ceremony organizing staff.

"The workers' house."

Talebani Aligns Forces

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 May 80 p 9

In an interview, Jalal Talebani, secretary general of the Iraq National Federation of Kordestan, described his objective in traveling to and visiting Iran in terms of the Islamic revolution of Iran and its effect on the region, especially Iraq. Talebani stated, "The Islamic revolution of Iran, under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni, has shaken the entire Middle East and has had a broad effect on the world of Islam and Iraq in particular. The Islamic revolution of Iran has awakened the people of Iraq and our Shiite brothers in the south of the country and has encouraged them to fight." On his goal in traveling to Iran, Talebani said, "My first objective in this visit is to normalize and consolidate relations between the Islamic revolution of Iran and the Iraqi revolution. The Iraq National Federation of Kordestan is playing a big role in carrying this out because reactionary, hireling elements, and elements dependent on imperialism are trying to wreak damage on the Islamic revolution of Iran and the revolution of Kordestan in Iraq. Normalizing relations is to the advantage of both parties and I am happy that this goal has been achieved."

In continuing his conversation, Jalal Talebani said, "The Islamic revolution of Iran, on the other hand, has convinced the people that it is possible to overthrow satans. Previously, there was the belief that the regimes were strong, that the Shah and Saddam Husayn Takriti had armies and enjoyed massive funds, and that as they possessed crushing systems it was not possible to eliminate them. For this reason people tended toward introversion and despair, but the Islamic revolution of Iran has given life to hope for victory, and, with the victory of the Islamic revolution, it has been found that overthrowing crushing, tyrannical and satanic regimes is possible in the event the masses unite and rise up against these regimes.

"Revolution has given the people strength and has created a revolutionary spirit in the hearts of the Kurds and the Arabs of Iraq. Another effect of the Islamic revolution of Iran has been to expose the ugly, filthy nature of the regime of Saddam Husayn Takriti. Saddam cooperated with the deposed Shah and tortured Iranian combatants. After Emam Khomeyni's exile from Najaf and the adoption of a hostile position vis-a-vis the Iranian revolution by Iraq, the people of Iraq wondered why Saddam Husayn was hostile toward the Islamic revolution, which supported the revolution of the Palestinians and Arabs in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism, whereas Saddam's regime was friendly with the Shah who was both the ally of the American imperialists and Zionism and was giving oil to Israel."

The question was raised, "Mr Talebani, the Iraq National Federation of Kordestan is struggling to attain autonomy in the context of the Republic of Iraq. Is the attainment of autonomy one stage of the objective or is it a strategic one? in other words, isn't the long-term objective of the Kurds in the four countries of Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria to create an independent and free Kordestan?" Talebani replied, "Our present generation cannot attain anything more than autonomy within the framework of the Republic of Iraq, which must be a democratic people's republic. We, as realistic revolutionaries, not as poets indulging in fantasies, believe that the realistic and logical policy is that of using 'the art of the possible.' In my opinion, the possibility of uniting the Kurds in a separate Kurdish nation is fantastic and tantamount to impossible."

In response to the question "In your opinion what solution is conceivable for eliminating the dispute between the central government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Kurds in Iranian Kordestan, and have you had contacts in this area with the leaders of the Islamic republic and Iranian Kurds," Jalal Talebani, the secretary general of the Iraq National Federation of Kordestan, stated "In my opinion, this problem must be solved by peaceful political means.

"However, the party responsible for the central government, that is, the person of Dr Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has also stated many times that he wants a political, peaceful solution, that he is opposed to fratricidal war and that he accepts the legal rights of the Kurds, including autonomy within the context of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Dr Bani-Sadr has stated, 'We are not opposed to the principle of autonomy. Our discussion is over who should receive autonomy and what the nature of this autonomy should be.'"

Concerning overall conditions in Iraq, he said "The regime and clique of Saddam Husayn are a very small minority governing in Iraq by fire and blood. They are exercising a vicious fascistic policy against all forces, parties, groups and citizens in Iraq, be they Arabs or Kurds, Moslems or Christians, Sunnites or Shiites, and there is absolutely no freedom of the press, freedom of parties or freedom of trade unions in Iraq. They arrest people thousands and thousands of times and send revolutionaries to the gallows

in groups. They are hanging tens of thousands of people. The connection between the fascist regime of Iraq and neo-imperialism and the American imperialists is no longer an issue which is hidden from anyone's eyes. We consider the regime of Saddam Husayn Takriti to be a hireling neo-imperialist regime dependent on American imperialists. This dependence may be observed in various guises, such as Saudi reaction, commercial relations, and oil relations.

"This regime has adopted a chauvinistic policy vis-a-vis the Kurdish people of Iraq, and it is implementing it by Arabizing the oil-rich Kurdish-populated areas and sending the Kurds out of their own areas.

"In accordance with this policy, they have turned 1,247 Kurdish inhabited villages into rubble, have burned down forests and farms, and have even plugged up water wells with cement.

"This regime has become faced with an extensive mass resistance. All national forces and parties, all Kurds and all Shiites are opposed to this regime and have risen up to fight it. The Iraq National Federation of Kordestan began its armed struggle against this regime approximately 4 years ago and at the same time is to be considered part of the overall revolution of Iraq because some Iraqi parties, under the title of the National Grouping of Iraq, are fighting the regime alongside us."

In continuing his conversation on the Iraqi army, Talebani said, "Saddam Husayn recently executed dozens of worthy Iraqi army officers, including Lt Gen Walid Mahmud Sirat, who was the commander of an Iraqi division in Kordestan and an old member of the Ba'th Party. Dozens of other officers are being detained and many also have been killed by fascistic means in rigged automobile accidents. A free officers' movement has now been formed in the Iraqi army which is striving to overthrow the Ba'thist regime of Iraq and is publishing declarations. Even Ba'thist officers opposed to the fascistic government of Saddam Husayn have formed a movement and are active. In addition to all this, most junior officers, noncommissioned officers and soliders in the army are Shiites and Kurds and are opposed to the regime. For example, two Arab junior officers who are Shiite joined us with all their equipment and weapons just 2 months ago and are fighting alongside us against the Iraqi regime. When we asked them 'What party are you from?' they answered 'Khomeyni's party.' Therefore you can see that Saddam has much fear of the Iranian revolution and Emam Khomeyni. The Islamic revolution of Iran has had a broad reflection in the Iraqi army, especially among noncommissioned officers and soldiers, and we have noticed that the Iraqi army is no longer fighting against us, as opposed to times in the past."

Chamran's Army Reform Plans

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 May 80 p 12

Dr Mostafa Chamran, who has been selected by the leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran, Emam Khomeyni, as a consultant to the Supreme Defense

Council, declared his views on the army in an exclusive interview with KEYHAN. In this conversation, declaring that the current system of the army is the satanic system of the past, Dr Chamran expressed his three recommendations for reorganizing the army and for reliance on this national defense organization.

What you are reading are selected views of the emam's chosen member of the Supreme Defense Council, the minister of defense and the representative of the people of Tehran in the National Consultative Council: "According to the emam's advisors in the Supreme Defense Council, the present army system is a satanic system from the past which came into being to defend the interests and privileges of the satan and foreign imperialism and which proceeded in this path for years--to the point where this satanic way of thinking has become rooted and works as a kind of second nature with military people. In brief and in summary, we consider that the people do not have confidence in the army in the bottom of their heart and, in spite of all the efforts and endeavors which have been made and are being made to solve the problems of the past and to create unity and equality between the people and the army, a shadow of doubt, hesitation and anxiety still hangs over the hearts of the people. This weak point is causing the counter-revolution to incite people in the army and launch extensive propaganda within the army; it is telling them 'You see that the revolutionary government does not trust you, is destroying your personality, is not respecting you.' This propaganda is weakening the morale of the people in the army, threatening officers and noncommissioned officers who believe in the revolution and probably bothering and tormenting them.

"In the face of this extensive counterrevolutionary propaganda against the army, naturally the army must be strengthened, and evil counterrevolutionary propaganda must be fought with all one's forces. However, unfortunately, in this event the doubt, hesitation, discomfort and distrust of the people will increase and cause bad reactions. In the face of this contradiction, the revolutionary leadership believes that to solve psychological, organizational and propaganda problems it is necessary first to strengthen the army, secondly to replace the existing army system with an Islamic revolutionary system(which naturally will require a period of time), and thirdly to have a number of people who believe in the revolution and are trusted by people in the army who supervise all military affairs and finally facilitate the shift of the army from its old condition to the new one.

"In this event, the people's confidence and trust will also be secured and all counterrevolutionary propaganda will be thwarted. The likelihood of any kind of coup d'etat will also disappear from mind. Peace of mind will be created among the people; it is only in this situation that the leadership and the nation will be prepared to strengthen the army and not to submit to counterrevolutionary propaganda.

"It was with this end in mind that the supreme leader of the revolution appointed us to be his advisors in the army, so that with the aid of devout, revolutionary individuals we would supervise the affairs of the army, acquire the confidence and trust of all, and always keep the leader current on affairs in the army. Under current conditions, when the superpowers and their domestic agents are acting with all their power against the existing regime, are setting fires in the corner and at the edges of the country and are intending to conspire and carry out their evil plans through a careful, well calculated program--and at the same time wish also to destroy the power of the army and the military so that no force will remain against the force of counterrevolution--America's obvious and covert attacks have proved that imperialism is prepared to use military force to bring down the revolutionary regime and impose a dependent, satanic regime on the Iranian people. Therefore it wants to eliminate all forms of military resistance, destroy all forms of military power and pave the way to attain its evil objective.

"Our people, and people in the military, must be vigilant against and totally aware of these calculated plans of the enemy, must not be influenced by the poisoned propaganda of the counterrevolution, must use all their power on behalf of construction, unity and struggle against the counterrevolution, and must not weaken their military and security forces, but rather must think of ways to block off deviationist paths, eliminate weak points and leave no room for doubt or hesitation."

11887

CSO: 4906

NEW MAJLES MEMBERS GIVE VIEWS ON VITAL ISSUES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 May 80 p 11

/Article: "Opinions of the Representatives Elected to Parliament (Majles) in the Second Stage"]

/Text/ The KEYHAN Political Service Poll of the Representatives of Parliament

The first National Consultative Council will soon be formed. KEYHAN, in order to present a picture of the first National Consultative Council, has been talking with representatives who have by now reached parliament. Since many representatives live in various cities in Iran and have not yet come to Tehran, KEYHAN requests all representatives to send it their responses to the following questions:

1. What is your opinion on the holding of elections to parliament?
2. What are your plans for the first National Consultative Council and what plans have priority?
3. What characteristics must the prime minister have, from your point of view?
4. What is your opinion on the hostages, on whom an investigation has been assigned to the parliament by orders of the emam?
5. What is your opinion on the composition of parliament?

KEYHAN Political Service is waiting for all representatives to send their responses in brief to the address "Political Service, KEYHAN newspaper, Keyhan Alley, South Ferdousi Avenue, Tehran." Meanwhile, we request the honored representatives also to state their full addresses and telephone numbers in the letters.

The representatives to the first National Consultative Assembly have been chosen with the conclusion of the second stage of the National Consultative Council elections. With the conclusion of the representatives' elections the first National Consultative Council of the regime of the Islamic republic will begin its work in the next few days. In order to acquaint readers with the views and opinions of the parliament representatives,

KEYHAN Political Service has tried, through a few questions, to draw a picture of their opinions.

In the first stage, four of the 12 representatives elected to the National Consultative Council from Tehran expressed their views; you are reading these. We are attempting also to be able to draw clear pictures through the views of other representatives.

A total of five questions were asked of the representatives, as follows, and the representatives answered these.

1. Their views regarding the holding of second stage elections to the National Consultative Council.
2. Their plans for the first parliament and those plans which in their opinion have priority.
3. The characteristics which the prime minister must have, in the representatives' opinion.
4. The representatives' opinion regarding the issue of the hostages, which Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran, has assigned to the parliament.
- Finally, 5. The representatives' opinion regarding the composition of parliament.

What you are reading are these representatives' opinions and responses to these respective questions. It is necessary to mention the fact that to avoid repetition, the questions have not been repeated; the number before each subject shows which answer is being given to the question at issue.

Eng Hashem Sabbaghian

1. From the standpoint of voting technique, the second stage of the elections, which used the computer system, was better and more honest than the first stage and its results were determined more rapidly. One can state that there was no violation in counting the ballots and producing the votes, but most unfortunately a more important matter, which was also more prominent in the first stage, /was/ abuse of the resources which different groups had at their disposal and which they used in violation of Islamic morality, making publicity in most of the mosques 24 hours before the voting, even the night before it, and acting against the emam's orders on observing Islamic morality through this publicity. Since there were no executive powers to prevent these measures, they continued their activities, and in certain areas even where executive powers existed, in addition to not refraining from these activities, they also coordinated them and conducted publicity on behalf of special groups. According to reports which have been received from supervisors appointed by the Ministry of Interior, the illiteracy of individuals was exploited on election day; this time, a much smoother group wrote out illiterate persons' votes in favor of particular groups, placed them in ballot boxes (since it was no longer necessary to write out the name of the candidate, it was enough just to pull a horizontal string), and did not even pay any attention to protests by Ministry of Interior supervisors.

2. All the hopes of the Moslem people of Iran have been fastened upon this parliament; the survival and future of the revolution depend completely on the future of this parliament. All representatives must act on behalf of unity of statements and unity of deeds and avoid every type of contradictions, and complete coordination must come into being among groups which do not totally disagree from the ideological standpoint, so that the parliament will not be the scene of clashes of opinions and fights and so that it can perform its true, seminal mission. Most of our past laws, which were affected by the colonial and satanic culture of the previous regime, must be changed, and new laws must be prepared, codified and ratified in light of the ideology of Islam. Otherwise, if every group tries to form a special parliamentary party for itself, and raises particular disputes and issues from the past, it will not only not be able to perform any useful work on behalf of the nation--it will give no response to the blood of the martyrs laid to rest in the ground and will be responsible for that.

3. At the present time, coordination between executive and legislative powers is a necessity. Therefore the group which enjoys a relative majority inside and outside parliament also has greater influence and strength in the judiciary power, other new revolutionary structures certainly should also assume executive powers and appeal to other persons to cooperate with whom they consider necessary through their own determination. Therefore the prime minister, in addition to being a manager who believes in the Islamic revolution, must certainly be elected by the group which has the relative majority in parliament and other should hasten to assist and help him. Otherwise, if any other group proposes a prime minister, or anyone who does not belong to that group volunteers for this post, it will never be in agreement with the climate or with existing resources.

4. Since the enemy has assigned the hostages' destiny to parliament, and parliament must make a decision, in my opinion the hostages must be tried and a competent court should decide their destiny.

5. In view of the fact that most of the elected representatives are not recognized by all the people, but are mostly just known in their electoral district, one cannot express a definitive opinion on the composition of parliament. After time has passed, it will be possible to do so. The people who ran as candidates of the Republican Party--I do not know if they are members or sympathizers--have a relative majority in parliament, but, as I stated in the response in the above sections, it is hoped that this group will not raise factional arguments. It is clear that if they do, the next parliament will not have a promising future.

Dr. Kazem Sami

1. Regarding the elections in the second round, as we had also previously declared there was no need for the elections to be in two stages, in view of the contents and spirit of the constitution. The representatives to

the first round of the (Islamic) National Consultative Council had to enjoy an absolute majority of the votes, and greater votes generally, because of the importance of the laws which are to codified and ratified, but that has not been achieved in practice through the implementation of the second round of elections. The total second round votes for representatives show that these did not receive the votes of most of the people; as had also been previously suggested, the total number of people participating in the second stage of the elections was smaller than in the first stage. One can consider that this in itself bespeaks the people's lack of interest and opposition to this kind of voting.

The computerizing of voting, and the reading out of votes in Tehran, while reducing the violations in the first stage to some extent, entailed the same ordinary voting problems, because most voters were illiterate. What attracted one's attention the most was the length of the period before the announcement of the results of the second stage of the elections in Tehran; in spite of the use of electronic systems, these were announced after 4 days, moreover after several hours of delay because of a technical defect. However, the second stage of the elections had fewer problems than the first one all in all.

2. I have already answered this question. However, in view of the duties of the representatives, as stated in the constitution, I consider preserving the gains of the Islamic revolution of the people of Iran to be the first objective of the parliament's plans. Meanwhile, I consider guaranteeing independence, advancing the country and severing dependence on superpowers to be among the most important goals of the representatives' planning, and finally I consider preserving the rights of the nation and protecting and preservation of political freedoms to be another of the main areas of the Islamic Consultative Council's plans. In any event, radical changes in the structures left over from the former regime must be the basis of thinking in the council's planning and, in order to solve contradictions in the society, the people's sovereignty must be made the object of priority attention, with the aid of the consultative system, in the legal system, by making use of genuine Islamic ideology and the maximum revolutionary capability of the Moslem peoples of Iran. In brief, I will defend the freedoms and social rights of the people and the supplementary preparation of the constitution by stressing "national unity," "the guarantee of independence," and attainment of "national rights."

3. Possessing an absolute scientific and revolutionary plan based on the requirements of the society and the cooperation of homogeneous people with similar views are among the characteristics which every revolutionary prime minister must possess. Meanwhile, the prime minister must enjoy the support of the majority of the people's representatives and the president, and the protection of political groups and blocs.

4. The National Consultative Council must give the response to this question. However, as an elected representative of the people, I believe that

the issue of the hostages must be separated from the issue of spies. People who have engaged in espionage activity by abusing political immunity and international diplomatic usage and have interfered in the internal affairs of our country cannot be called hostages but are spies who are being detained and whose destinies must be determined, as everywhere, by judiciary courts and the administrators of justice. However, the hostages who, because of the political actions of imperialism, are in the keeping of the Moslem students following the path of the emam, should be evaluated and subjected to investigation and judicial examination in groups, attended by the representatives of all nations, in view of the contradictions in diplomatic laws and imperialism's direct and overt interventions in Iran and protection of and grant of asylum to the deposed Shah.

5. Making predictions about the composition of parliament is not possible yet. One must await the inauguration of the parliament and the formation of its first sessions.

Abdolhamid Ma'adikhah

1. So far as I am aware, they were properly held.

2. Success, in any useful plan, will depend on ending games and game players. The parliament must think of measures whereby the people themselves will be placed in the course of things so that they may themselves respond to the gameplayers who imagine that it will be possible to fight the Islamic republic with a strengthened army. The presence of ambiguous points affords scope for the growth of these strengthened tigers, and prevention of the accumulation of these ambiguous points, by disarming the counterrevolution, is the symbol of success in all reform programs. Proceeding beyond this notion, the implementation of all beneficial programs will require that Islamic discipline take the place of the tumult dominating executive agencies, and that will not be possible without radical change in the administrative system--a change in which improper and parasitical elements which cannot sympathize with the martyred masses of the millions are categorically liquidated. To make the Islamic republic self-sufficient in various dimensions is a necessity which cannot be ignored under any circumstances, and, to achieve this objective in the economic dimension, rural small towns to which healthy unemployed elements will be attracted must be established by careful, rapid planning. The class of students and clerics can have an effective role in the moral and cultural dimension of this plan; the other dimensions of this self-sufficiency are closely connected with one another and with the economic dimension. For example, without a radical change in the educational system, the desired success in economic self-sufficiency, which has been referred to in the preceding lines, will never come about. The cultural revolution, which is both a means and an end, both a beginning and an end, and a start in every achievement, will have a decisive role in all the plans which have been stated, and those which have not been stated. While it is clear from the

above statements which plan has absolute priority, there is no room to deny that reformist and revolutionary plans for human society are so interconnected that making any of them absolute cannot be simple or free of problems.

3. He stated, Is what is being attained desirable? Committed Moslems who are respected, competent, experienced, decisive, forbearing, and lacking the slightest orientation toward the east or the west.

4. The spies must be tried. On this point, if another noteworthy view exists, one can state it, owing to the importance of the subject, and there is room to refer to public opinion; this is also most justifiable, since the people's direct participation in important matters will leave no room for excuses or excuse-making.

5. It is a composition which is bicameral, in accordance with the requests of the people.

Mohsen Mojtabae-Shabastari

1. The elections and referendums held following the triumph of the Islamic revolution of Iran have been unparalleled, or almost unparalleled, not only in the history of Iran but, it can also be said, in the world, from the standpoint of free atmosphere. The second stage of the Islamic Consultative Council elections had two other advantages as well. One was the fact that they were organized and devoid of fraud: they were carried out after the necessary provisions and the availability of such accessories as computerization of the vote tally and the appointment of reliable, impartial investigators and supervisors by the Ministry of the Interior; this resulted in the absence of fraud and disqualifying violations. The other was the fact that this time the voters had much opportunity to look into the candidates and the candidates were limited and fewer than in the first stage, so the voters went to the polls in greater number and voted for specific candidates.

2. The plans of the Consultative Council and the duties of the representatives have been determined in Chapter Six of the new constitution and there probably is no need to repeat them. What is in general necessary to mention in this summary is that the Consultative Council must have an Islamic content and must fully preserve its philosophical outlook in confronting national matters and matters of the world. The basic goal is to establish Islamic justice and equity throughout society and to implement the splendid provisions of the Koran in all national affairs. Since this parliament is the first National Consultative Council, and the basis and foundation for subsequent period, the hopes of the world which lie on this country will turn to despair if Islamic laws are not enacted during this session of parliament. On the other hand, the situation in the country is disturbed, from the domestic standpoint and in terms of foreign relations, so this parliament possesses special importance; it is necessary that the representatives to parliament feel greater responsibility and refrain from

unnecessary disputes and speeches and individual and group struggles. They must present and ratify Islamic and revolutionary bills with greater activity and effort, think of solutions to domestic deficiencies and foreign dangers, and, with the aid of almighty god, the assistance of the conscious and heroic Iranian nation, and the succor of the government, strive to defend and eliminate them so that order may be imparted to the country as soon as possible. However, in terms of priorities, some matters seem more important and urgent than others.

1. The economic reconstruction of the country through various means, through the creation of resources for greater production in all fields, expansion of agriculture and livestock raising through the proper and full use of god-given assets, the expansion of industries, conversion of industries from the assembly pattern to a genuine, creative pattern, making the country self-sufficient in general, making it cease to require so many foreign imports in the field of foodstuffs and so forth, application of the Islamic economic system to all commercial banking and other activities, and the solution of the problem of unemployment which has truly become an important problem for the society.
2. The establishment of social security throughout the country by raising people's intellectual, educational and ideological growth through proper instructive Islamic publicity and spiritual strengthening, organizing the security forces, liquidating the three branches of the service, encouraging sound individuals within them, creating radical changes and necessary reforms in the judiciary power in terms of laws and regulations, liquidating, and appointing fit, pious individuals to the judiciary organizations.
3. Creating unity and coordination in terms of decisionmaking and executive action among the various organizations of the country, creating co-ordination and organization among responsible centers and governmental and revolutionary structures, and, in general, creating stability and solidarity in the society.
4. More important than all these things is the consummation of the cultural revolution: in my view, this must be at the head of all the parliament's revolutionary plans and bills, because, as long as imperialist culture dominates a society, and evolution and change do not occur in culture in its general meaning (the ideas and thinking of the masses of the people) and in its specific meaning (the educational system), there will be no confidence that the gains of the revolution and political and economic independence will survive. It is lost on no one that our society has become far removed from the true culture of Islam over the centuries and that our morality, civilization, education and social relations have dissolved in the melting pot of the culture, civilization and ideas of foreigners. In spite of that, the need for a cultural revolution from every standpoint and the substitution of Western and Eastern culture by genuine Islamic values and a culture returning within itself, God and the Koran is very strongly felt.

3. In addition to faith, piety and compassion, the prime minister must also possess adequate powers of discernment and observation regarding individuals in order to recommend the formation of a cabinet, great experience and intelligence in order to coordinate the government's decisions, and greater decisiveness in order to carry out laws and regulations, especially in the current situation of the country.

4. The parliament representatives must act in accordance with the wishes of the nation, whose delegates they are. I imagine that as the students following the path of the emam and official figures, even the emam (may his shadow remain), have pointed out, and as we have heard from slogans during the great demonstrations of the nation, the majority of the nation wishes the return of the deposed brutal and treasonous Shah and the money he has plundered; in the even this does not occur, the trial of the hostages is the national desire, so that, through the presentation of existing documents and evidence, and the acts of oppression which took place against this country by the orders of the archerimnal America during the period of rule by the filthy Pahlavi family, especially in recent years, the world may become further apprised of the acts of treason and the crimes of the world's great imperialist. Thus the goal in trying the hostages is in reality to try the American government; of course, in view of the touchiness of the subject, it is necessary that further study take place in this field and that a decisive opinion be expressed at the proper time with consideration for all aspects, requirements and obstacles of the issue.

5. One cannot at this time give a decisive judgment on the composition of parliament. Several months, or at least several weeks, must elapse in the life of the parliament so that the ideas and spiritual beliefs of representatives may become known. However, so far as I am informed and knowledgeable about the list of representatives throughout the country and the honored persons who have been elected, committed, wise, revolutionary people following the emam's path make up most of parliament. This composition of parliament will definitely cause circles spawned by imperialism to despair, by being crushed by the revolution through the parliament, and it is hoped that, God willing, this composition has been and will be the cause of stability in the country's political climate and a means for advancing Islam and our beloved country.

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ORGANIZATION OF LIBERALS ISSUES STATEMENT CONDEMNING REGIME

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 21 Mar 80 p 4

[Article: "Organization of Iraqi Liberals Condemns Ruling Ba'th Party; Oil Revenues Go Into Pockets of Revolutionary Command Council; Party Members Are As Wealthy As Indian Maharajahs"]

[Text] The Organization of Iraqi Liberals condemned the ruling regime in Iraq. It said that oil revenues have been going into the pockets of the members of the Revolution Command Council [RCC] to such an extent that in the last few years they have become wealthier than the maharajahs of India and the voluptuaries of Rome.

The organization said: The RCC has passed resolutions which liberally bestow on its poor members the wealth of the Iraqi people. Among these resolutions was one which grants 80,000 dinars to every member of the ruling council, in disregard of the most elementary principles of integrity and law. Moreover, the salary of a member of the Iraqi Ba'th Party is 500 dinars a month. Furthermore, the assassination squads which Saddam Husayn has prepared to liquidate his opponents cost the nation's treasury tens of millions of dinars annually.

The following is the text of the statement released by the organization in which it accused the ruling party in Iraq of theft, treason and usurpation of the people's wealth.

In every other country in the world, revolutions have stood for man's dignity and freedom and his right to a more comfortable life. But the leaders of the revolution in our Iraq have something else in mind. They are not content to mouth slogans about dignity, freedom, Ba'thist revolution, Arab nationalism, socialism and unity. If only they were satisfied with that! But they go on satisfying their greed for power and hunger for authority to their hearts' content.

Our audacious leaders have become experts at denying our dignity and skilled at expropriating the people's wealth. Some socialism!

This time we will not speak about the "palace of doom," the "death squads" or the "Hunayn" Organization controlled by Tikriti [native of district of Tikrit] Saddam Husayn.

It is an axiom of law, as they say, that one who takes powers to which he has no right is a usurper, and one who takes public or private money is a thief. But one who usurps powers to which he has no right while he is the guardian of those powers, and one who takes public money of which he is the administrator and guardian by virtue of office, authority and mandate, is not only a usurper and a thief. He is a usurper, a thief and a traitor at the same time. There are many examples. The stories of theft, breach of faith and exploitation of influence have become prominent features of our Tikriti Ba'thist regime.

If we take our memory only a few years back, and compare the relative poverty of the members of "our revolution's" command council then, with their current wealth, we would see that they have become richer than the maharajahs of India and the voluptuaries of Rome.

The money flows covertly into personal numbered secret accounts in Swiss banks as a precaution for the day on which things will change and the people rise to overthrow the ruling clique. Then, those who are able to escape will find a way to get to their millions of dinars sitting and waiting for them near Lake Geneva, where dozens of villas and palaces are now owned by people with names well-known to all of us--names that bombard our ears daily.

But that is not all. For years the RCC has been passing resolutions which liberally bestow our wealth and Iraq's oil revenues on its poor militant members.

In March 1971 a resolution was passed by the Iraqi RCC granting 80,000 dinars to each of the following: Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr; Saddam Husayn; 'Abd-al-Karim al-Shaykhli; Salih Mahdi 'Ammash; Taha al-Jazrawi; and Murtada al-Hadithi.

According to the text of this "official resolution" this generous stipend which the members of the ruling council paid to themselves was "in return for the material and spiritual hardships which they endured during their long struggle."

Disdain and disregard for the most elementary principles of integrity and law have reached this extent! But the generous salaries and other funds which are set aside and spent without control or supervision [by members of the RCC] are not all.

Fellow citizens! Did you know that the salary of a member in the Iraqi Ba'th Party can be 500 dinars a month? How much of the people's wealth do these salaries add up to each year?

Did you know that the death squads organized by the Tikriti Saddam Husayn to liquidate his opponents, or those whom he suspects of being his opponents, at home and abroad, cost the national treasury tens of millions of dinars annually? How much of their wealth--as well as their blood--have the Iraqi people payed for Tikriti Saddam Husayn's comfort and longevity in power?

As a matter of fact, Tikriti Saddam Husayn is not [all that stingy] toward his colleagues. While he detained the "poor comrade" Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, he issued a joint resolution with him through the RCC granting ownership of a 6,000 square meter parcel of land on the banks of the Tigris for one quarter of a dinar per square meter--less than 1 percent of its true value. But al-Bakr did not take the land alone. The "comrades" are partners.

On 18 December 1969--as recorded in the minutes of the RCC--a resolution was passed transferring ownership of a 1,517 square meter parcel of real estate, number 138/8, at Raghbat Khatun, belonging to the municipality of the capital, to Staff Gen Salih Mahdi 'Ammash at no cost.

Has there ever been a popular revolution in which the "revolutionaries" themselves usurped the people's wealth and lifeblood for their own interests so extravagantly and so impudently? They have become completely blinded by their extravagance.

However, do they not know that our people may be suppressed for periods of time, but not forever?

Do they not know that the usurper, the thief, the traitor must receive his just deserts someday? That day is not far off.

9123
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INFORMATION MINISTER ANSWERS QUERIES ON CHARTER, FOREIGN BASES

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 23 Mar 80 pp 23-24

[Interview with Latif Nasif Jasim, Iraqi minister of culture and information, in Baghdad, by Nihad al-Mashnuq and Hashim Qasim, date not given: "We Are Not in a Hurry To Implement the National Charter; Iraq Will Underwrite the Printing and Publication of All Arab Cultural Output"]

[Text] The National Action Charter was an Iraqi political surprise; Baghdad continues contacts and awaits the replies, which are yet to come, before taking the charter to the Arab summit. In a special interview with 'AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI', Mr Latif Nasif Jasim assessed two matters: the National Action Charter, and the question of Iraqi cultural policy. Here is the text of the interview.

[Question] The National Action Charter, how much progress has it made and what is its anticipated future?

[Answer] The National Action Charter will represent more than two-thirds of Arab public opinion after it is approved. We have received responses which reveal positive agreement to it. Many Arab countries have agreed to attend an Arab summit in which the charter would be the political basis for their aspirations.

After responses came in, President Saddam Husayn dispatched a group of colleagues to the Arab presidents, kings, and rulers in order to inform them in detail on developments relating to the Charter. We have received replies from 12 nations. These are: Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, the Gulf States, Jordan, and the PLO. The states from whom we have received no reply are: Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, Oman, Aden, and Djibouti. The plan is aimed at holding an Arab summit to put this charter into effect, but its date and location have not been determined. Iraq will accept any time or place set for the conference. Iraq is not in a hurry, in spite of its faith, its enthusiasm, and its preparedness to carry the weight of this charter. Iraq does not look at the matter in terms of time or circumstance,

but looks instead at its strategic scope, especially where it pertains to the security of the Arab community and its aspirations to live without conflicts or disorder. These conflicts may be on behalf of international parties. The same would apply to [conflicts within] nations or states which lie along the frontiers of the Arab homeland. The ambassadors of many Arab states have received this declaration and its clauses favorably, so that the Arab region might be in a state of political stability, far from the centers of polarization and international influences.

We are optimistic. The contents of this charter will always remain in touch with Arab sentiment, because it cherishes the aspirations of this Arab nation.

[Question] Is there a basic time period for holding the [summit] conference?

[Answer] No, not up to now. However, there are current negotiations under way to set the date in due speed.

[Question] Do you not think that the content of this charter has been violated by the existence of some military bases in a portion of the Arab lands (Somalia, Aden), and in a portion of the lands which lie along the frontiers of the Arab world (Kenya, Ethiopia)?

[Answer] The important thing now is that we do not go to others requesting that they take it upon themselves to adhere to the charter while there are Arab countries that have not given their opinion on the charter. It is necessary not to be hasty in this affair, for we are at a stage that requires rallying support and avoiding provocation. This is in accordance with our perception that Arab countries are in the frame of mind which I have indicated.

[Question] Why was Lebanon not invited?

[Answer] An invitation was sent to Lebanon just like any other country, but we have not received a response.

[Question] Iraq sent representatives to some countries while Lebanon did not receive any of them.

[Answer] The envoys were sent to the countries which announced their agreement on the charter and their acceptance of a convening of a summit conference.

[Question] The inclinations of some Arab regimes were to establish foreign military bases on their lands. Do you believe that the charter has come in order to put a limit to this pursuit of a policy of subservience to the big powers?

[Answer] All of these possibilities are found in the Arab region. However, the charter came out of a basic need representing the Arab conscience with all its perceptions and profundity to set the Arab community on a new course. The National Action Charter did not come only as a response to arguments for building foreign military bases, and the like, but rather as a reaction to the general situation in which the Arab community finds itself.

[Question] Are there communications with nations in which it is believed there are military bases, in order to come to a mutual understanding with them or to dissuade them?

[Answer] Communications have taken place with the states that have not sent responses, e.g., Somalia. With the visit of the Somali president to Baghdad, the picture will become clarified.

[Question] Which are the other countries with whom you are communicating?

[Answer] There are communications. However, we are in no hurry. The Arabs will find themselves, after a while, seeking a genuine desire to adopt the articles of this charter and will act accordingly. They will also find themselves in a situation inducing them to stay away from the international poles which bring foreigners to their countries and place them under foreign domination and control. Indeed, the National Action Charter concerns the Arab community more than it does Iraq. For we have no foreign military bases and no ties to the international parties. We are situated firmly and strongly, but we consider that our sovereignty would be less than complete if any Arab country were actually under foreign control or influence, or threatened with regard to its sovereignty or freedom.

[Question] There are poor countries to whom you sent an invitation. In the framework of their difficult circumstances, they are in need of assistance on every level lest they fall captive to the international political game. What is Iraq's position in this respect?

[Answer] At a time when the wealth of some Arab states amounts to more than their ability to invest or hoard it, there is poverty and hunger in other Arab countries. These countries, if they remain neglected and abandoned will not be blamed if they should fall into the open arms of the world powers. This situation will bring misfortune upon the Arab community if it does not take steps to prevent it. President Saddam Husayn clearly expressed this by saying that this situation will create class conflict within the Arab states. Naturally, it is inconceivable that there be in the same nation a starving man on the verge of death and a rich man on the verge of sickness from overeating. This situation is wrong and must be corrected. Hence, the spirit of the charter will contribute in earnest to a resolution of this problem. This is in addition to the need for the investment of the accumulated wealth of the Arab countries so that the Arabs

may benefit from it, especially the poor Arab countries, through provision of minimum standards of a decent, worthy life.

This applies to Somalia, Yemen, Djibouti, Mauritania, and others. It likewise applies to wounded Lebanon, which requires exceptional assistance to stand and rise from its suffering and misfortune and so it may rebuild itself. It is not right that we should use Lebanon for relaxation and recreation [when it is at peace], and turn away from it when it faces ugly ordeals as it does at present. Lebanon must remain on our minds and conscience, whether injured or sound and healthy.

[Question] In your capacity as minister of culture and information, can you define the Iraqi cultural policy and its basic outshoots?

[Answer] It was previously the case that Baghdad was a center for the diffusion of Arab culture. It is now trying to regain that role after it had disappeared from the stage of cultural activity, because of the periods of oppression it went through.

The culture that existed for a little while in Baghdad was confined to a limited group of people--a group isolated from society. Indeed, this group monopolized the culture and dwarfed it.

This is what isolated Baghdad from all aspects of life. It lost its national role [as a leader of] change and progress. It lost its role of being the conscience of the nation and a moving force toward a united, progressive, and creative future for the Arab nation. All cultures of elites which are out of touch with the life of the masses are reactionary, backsliding cultures. After the July 17 revolution, by a directive from Leader-President Saddam Husayn, the cultural sector witnessed a considerable flourish in the area of writing. There are figures which confirm this development in the direction of a unifying socialist culture. Motivated by our pan-Arab, pro-unity, and socialistic aspirations, we have begun to define our cultural direction and to exit from the culture of elites and from what [specific] artists or writers may produce. Now the situation is completely different. The activity of the cultural reawakening covers diverse areas. We are especially concerned with children's education. We set up a large institution, and set aside extraordinary financial credits for it, in order to outline an Arab culture beginning with infancy and continuing up to the advanced ages. These ages have their own culture which must be integrated with the culture of the children so that there may be a single, central cultural direction.

The other areas of culture are witnessing marked growth: poetry, the short story, the novel, the performing arts, the theater and the cinema, and so on. All are proceeding along parallel lines at the same pace, as we are according all of them the same attention.

For the first time it was announced that Iraq would underwrite all Arab cultural output in print and bear the expenses, be it from the Arab East or the Arab West. We will work in accordance with a complete plan, irrespective of the leanings or views of a writer, or his political analysis of our position, provided the cultural products serve the Arab orientation and Arab culture. We will budget a huge sum to this end and never will a writer or artist find himself in the poorhouse because of the printing of his work.

Furthermore, in order to strengthen the culture, we founded a national company not tied to any state. This is the Babil Company for Cinematic and Television Production, with a capital of \$20 million. The company will be a mixed Arab-Iraqi medium. We will bear its costs in the first stages, so that Arab cinematic, television, and theatrical production may flourish independently of influences from the state, and so that Arab cultural innovation will not fall captive to the commercial game of supply and demand.

[Question] What are the problems which the cultural policy of Iraq faces?

[Answer] Our cultural policy is guided, but not closed. We act by what the leader-president said: "You can control man not by his hands and his feet, but by his intellect." Thus, any orientation which serves the Arab nation, and does not advocate a course of action or leanings harmful to the Arab nation, is an acceptable one. Our understanding of our obligation is that no artistic work be incompatible with the revolution and the ambitions of the forward-looking nation. But as for the culture of prejudice, racism and obscurity, this is totally rejected. To date we have not felt a gap between ourselves and any educated Iraqi. As a matter of pride, I say that our cultural movement is enjoying a phase of exceptional bloom. This is a sign of health and vitality. Our cultural activity is not confined to within the country alone. We have in Arab and world capitals activities in every form of the arts. The National [Theatrical] Group will present its works in Brazil, Mexico and elsewhere, and there are exhibitions of arts and antiquities in diverse world capitals.

[Question] The performing arts sector is active, while the rest of the arts do not enjoy a similar bloom. What is that?

[Answer] The performing arts movement receives a volume of publicity the other arts do not receive.

[Question] The Iraqi cinema is still an underdeveloped sector in comparison to the other activities.

[Answer] In relation to the past, the Iraqi cinema is fine, and has begun to move along its own true path. The film, 'Al-Qadisiyah,' now in production, is proof of that.

[Question] The artistic talents that execute the film are non-Iraqi, like Salah Abu Sayf, for example.

[Answer] We do not look at the matter from this angle. Salah Abu Sayf represents Arab talent. We will cooperate with Arab talent wherever it is found. I add that Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Syrian, and Gulf artistic talents are working to execute this film. If "Al-Qadisiyah" is an Arab battle, then the artistic elements which will carry out this film are Arab as well.

[Question] Iraqi society is composed of groups differing in their cultural background and folklore. Are there, in this light, problems in the coexistence of these "cultures" side by side?

[Answer] We are committed to the cultural rights of minorities. This is a definite matter. However, we look at culture in terms of its being under the aegis of the revolution and under the aegis of Iraq. Whatever contradicts this is considered a problem. To the present, we have had no conflict in this domain. Hence, our cultural climate in respect to direction is healthy and sound.

With respect to other ideologies, such as Marxism, we have no complex regarding them. We discuss Marxism and analyze it within the bounds of the character of our Arab civilization and our nationalist, unionist and socialist aspirations. Every intellectual effort to turn ideas away from the principles of the revolution is not permitted. Iraq is not a "liberal" country. It has its own special experience in which it takes great pride.

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EXPERIMENT OF EGYPTIAN FARMING SETTLEMENT IN IRAQ REVIEWED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 17-23 Mar 80 pp 42-43

[Article: "Al-Khalisah Village: the First Pan-Arab Experiment of Its Kind on Arab Soil"]

[Text] Baghdad--the experiment of al-Khalisah village [40 km from Baghdad] is the first effort of its kind at achieving agricultural and economic integration at the pan-Arab level. This experiment began in 1976. Now, after approximately four years, it is showing signs of success. The Egyptian fellah, whose attachment to the Egyptian soil is well-known, has become attached to the Iraqi soil, where he has found roots which ease his longing for his native land. The Egyptian fellah's children have begun to marry the children of Iraqi farmers. Bonds of blood and marriage have begun to add new factors of success to the experiment.

The Economic Foundation

The economic foundation of the al-Khalisah experiment was the removal of barriers so that Arab labor may work in the various Arab countries. This is adopted by Iraq which allows Arab citizens to enter without a visa and to work without special permission. While some laws of the Arab countries allow Arab citizens to own land in the cities, they prohibit owning agricultural land. Here is where the importance of the al-Khalisah experiment can be seen as a pioneering experiment: it has made agricultural land in Iraq a part and extension of the Arab agricultural land in any Arab country. Even more, the al-Khalisah experiment reminds us of the application of Egyptian agricultural reform laws. Now, Egyptians are benefiting from such reform on Iraqi soil.

While the amount of arable land in Egypt is 6 million feddans (11 million Iraqi dunums), and the population is more than 40 million, the amount of arable land in Iraq is 48 million Iraqi dunums (more than 28.5 million Egyptian feddans). While Iraq's population is not more than 13.2 million and Egypt is suffering from overpopulation, a relative scarcity of arable land and low agricultural production, Iraq is troubled by large areas of land left uncultivated.

The reason for the problem of low agricultural production in the Arab countries becomes apparent when we realize that while the amount of available water in the rivers of the Arab World is 195 billion cubic meters, no more than 95 billion cubic meters—47.8 percent of the available water—is used. Figures also confirm that the Arab Nation's share of world livestock production is 5.2 percent. It has a 1.1 percent share of world egg production. Its share of animal produce is no more than 1.6 percent, and its share of dairy products is no more than 1.8 percent.

It is expected that the Arab world will import approximately 5 billion dollars worth of food per annum in 1985. This is because the Arab world will import a large proportion of its food requirements. In some countries, this proportion will be 100 percent. The following are the anticipated deficits in Arab food requirements in 1985:

Wheat: 60 percent, approximately 11 million tons.
Sugar: 65 percent, approximately 2.8 million tons.
Corn: 21 percent, approximately 1 million tons.
Meat: 32 percent, approximately 700,000 tons.
Eggs: 40 percent, approximately 200,000 tons.
Dairy Products: 17 percent, approximately 2.3 million tons.

A simple solution to this problem is unimaginable, because the population of the Arab world will rise to more than 300 million in the year 2000. Here is where the importance of planning and guidance in the utilization of available agricultural potential can be seen.

"Cooperation In Arab Unity"

When the Iraqi government embraced the project for settling Egyptian farmers in the village of al-Khalisah, it undertook a pan-Arab experiment to overcome the problem of an insufficient labor force in its agricultural sector by relying on a surplus agricultural labor force within the Arab world.

The experiment was based on two basic principles:

1. Economic integration, and
2. Social, cultural and intellectual kinship.

On 17 February 1976, the first group of eight Egyptian fellahin arrived. Other groups followed until the latest one came on 28 April of the same year. The farmers were settled in the village of al-Khalisah. The charter to set up a cooperative in the village was registered under the name of "the Cooperative of Arab Unity." It has 96 members: 95 men and 1 woman. The cooperative organization's board of directors consists of seven members: a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, treasurer and three other members.

The chairman of the board of this cooperative is Yusuf Riyadh al-Sayyid, who was born in Bani Suwayf in the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Yusuf Riyadh al-Sayyid says that he was elected chairman of the board on the basis of services he had provided to his fellow farmers. He explains: "At a meeting of the general organization, seven persons were elected. With their approval, I was elected their chairman. My election was due to my active role in public service, in working with the administrator of cooperatives, the project and the Farmers' Union." The area farmed by Yusuf is 20 dunums. He uses farm machinery provided by the subdistrict administration. Concerning the payment of rent for the use of the farm machinery, Yusuf Riyadh said: "We have paid them rent since the beginning of 1979. Prior to that, the state provided us with all services--seeds, fertilizer and machinery--gratis. They said that we had to pay rent early in 1979, so that we may become self-sufficient."

Yusuf has a higher income from his land, which is 20 dunums--about 12 feddans--than from the land he used to farm in Egypt. It was no more than 3 feddans, of which he originally owned 2 and received the third through farm reform. Yusuf said that the area of land he farms in al-Khalisah is greater, and that he has better facilities. Therefore, he has a higher income. But on the nature of relationship with the land, he adds: "They tell us that the land can be owned. But we have not yet received deeds." The important thing in Yusuf's life is that his five children help him in the field in certain seasonal jobs, because they go to school and are in various grades.

Evaluating the Experiment

Another farmer, Nabil Indrawis Ibrahim, throws some light on aspects of the experiment. Nabil's opinions are important, because he is no ordinary farmer. He is an agricultural engineer who decided to leave a government job and become part of the experiment. The importance in which the opinions of Nabil Indrawis are held is due to his ability to give a more comprehensive view than others can, and to his sensitivity to changes in circumstances and social climate.

Nabil describes his life in al-Khalisah as "a pan-Arab experiment unattempted by any other country in the world." He left Minya al-Qash, his birthplace, where he had been employed as an agricultural engineer, and went to al-Khalisah. He started out farming 22 dunums--about 13 feddans--of recently reclaimed land. The numerous crops Nabil planted that year were barley, clover, wheat, and beans. In the summer, he grew okra, kidney beans, eggplant and pepper. He estimates an average gross of 100 dinars per year per dunum, depending on the crop. He has an average annual income of more than 1,000 dinars after deducting production costs.

Nabil has two cows which he received from the project. He suffers a shortage of labor during harvest time in the summer. Nabil explains the problem: "Most of the families have young children. Children not more than 7 or 8 years old are not able to help pick the crops or endure the summer heat in the field." Therefore, he leaves his children at home. He and his wife go

out to the field before five o'clock in the morning and return at seven o'clock at night. Despite that, Nabil says that he does not feel any difficulty in adjusting. "Nothing has happened. It is as though I moved from one home to another."

In addition to the problem of the labor shortage during the harvest season, there is another problem involving the sale of the produce. Nabil and other Egyptian farmers like him encounter difficulty when they have to leave the fields to sell their produce at the market. He says that the Iraqi farmer does not have this problem, because his family is large. When he goes to the market, his family takes care of picking the crops.

More Cooperation

There is another problem in the occasional excess of supply over demand. The village may pick its eggplant crop on a day that the market has no need for that crop. If this crop is left for the next few days, it will spoil. The bigger the acreage, the worse the problem. Nabil Indrawis adds that the administrator of cooperatives has urged coordination in crop rotation. But more than that is needed. A crop selection plan for the whole village must be devised.

Mr Jasim Jabr 'Abd, inspector of the cooperative, says: "We do not interfere in determining crops, because that depends on the demand at the Baghdad market." The inspector then points out that the subdistrict administration and the ministry of agriculture had been responsive in providing a vehicle to carry each farmer's produce from the field to the market.

On the subject of the agricultural plan, Mr Yahya 'Abdallah, chairman of the Baghdad branch of the Union of Farm Collectives, says: "Numerous statistics are prepared by the ministry of agriculture and agrarian reform pertaining to basic crops, manufactured products and so forth. The farmers contribute to these through the completion of forms that are collected and discussed at meetings of the cooperative."

Mr 'Awwad Kazim, director of the subdistrict administration, says: "We hold meetings of the entire general organization. They are attended by the inspector of the cooperative and the board of directors. At one of the meetings we discussed our annual plan, selected farmers who could serve as examples to others, and considered the amount of land to be devoted to each crop. The farmers then implemented the decisions." He adds: "The cooperative organization is the agency that supervises agricultural activity. We cooperate with them in solving their problems."

Despite that, Nabil Indrawis says: "We in the village feel [and define] the problem. The officials are responsive to our requests. But implementation of the officials' directives requires follow-up if solutions are to become realities."

Muhammad Abu Musa, who is called the shaykh of the fellahin in al-Khalisah, maintains that imitation is the cause of these problems. He says: "If one farmer plants okra, for example, and gets a good income when he sells it, the next season all the farmers will cease planting any other crops, and will plant only okra."

The solution to the problem lies in more planning and diversification according to the shaykh of the fellahin.

The Instruction Center

Because a practical solution requires planning and diversification, and planning must originate with the farmers rather than be imposed on them, the importance of the instruction center in the village stands out.

Al-Khalisah has a center for rural guidance with a meeting hall, a color television set donated to the village by President Saddam Husayn, and a movie projector for showing recreational and educational films. The hall has room for about 200 people. They gather there once a month to see movies. At other times they hold meetings to discuss subjects of importance to the village.

Mr 'Abd-al-Hamzah 'Abd-al-Husayn says: "Each month we hold an educational workshop for the farmers which is attended by officials of the village, the party and the subdistrict. Instructional books arrive and we distribute them to the farmers at planting times." The center also has a library with books on farming and politics.

The center is also equipped to teach the male and female farmers folk arts such as carpet making with artistic designs or political slogans, canning foodstuffs, and sewing.

In addition, the village also has a modern market, a mosque, a school, fresh water and electricity, which are enjoyed by its 428 inhabitants.

All things considered, al-Khalisah is a unique pioneering pan-Arab experiment. Difficulties and problems encountered are those of progress, not of under-development.

After this experiment has succeeded, can it be repeated on a wider scale?

Repetition of this experiment would strengthen the basis of pan-Arab unity and eliminate the effects of political divisiveness and fragmentation.

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KURDISTAN SHOWS PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 12 Mar 80 p 7

[Article: "Autonomy--the Journey and the Success; Sixth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Autonomy Law; Autonomy Experiment Has Best Demonstrated True Humane Thinking of Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party; Region Witnessed Grand Projects and Substantive Changes"]

[Text] The Revolution of the 17th and 30th of July, under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, undertook from the beginning to radically and comprehensively transform our country from underdevelopment, subjugation, and exploitation to progress, freedom, and emancipation. This was by relying on the scientific revolutionary method of confronting the various difficulties of implementation which the revolution has faced on its march.

Indeed, the Kurdish question is one of the most salient of our traditional national problems on whose complete resolution rests the future of the progressive, revolutionary transformation which the party began to implement on different levels and in various spheres.

Therefore, the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, because of the democratic and humane vision of its Pan-Arab, socialist ideology, embarked from the very beginning on laying the foundations of a final and decisive resolution of this problem, which will guarantee the achievement of unity of the land and the people. And so it happened that it issued the declaration of 11 March which made fast the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question. In spite of conspiratorial efforts by gangs of mercenaries, the leadership of the party and the revolution, with pugnacious, conscious persistence, was determined to overcome and overstep all obstacles, and connect all links in the chain of a final solution of the Kurdish question. It was determined to fling the doors wide open, so that our Kurdish people may contribute to the building of their nation and cooperate with the revolutionary changes which the July 17 revolution has brought about.

The autonomy law was issued on 11 March 1974 in order to fix firmly, for a trial period, a guiding principle, the likes of which the area has never witnessed.

Indeed, the past years have proven the correctness and soundness of the autonomy experiment and its remarkable capacity to come to grips with reality and give free rein to the powers of innovative action which it promoted through a democratic atmosphere and a positive attitude combined with good will and sincerity.

Among that which bolsters the experiment and affirms its efficacy is the serious and constant work for deepening its drive and confirming its effective presence on all levels of activity in the region: economic, social and cultural.

Now comes the sixth anniversary of the promulgation of this law and the 10th anniversary of the 11 March declaration which firmly established the principle of a sound, democratic solution of the Kurdish question in Iraq. Our people are enjoying its triumphs and celebrating the transformations and gains realized under the leadership of the party and the revolution.

Indeed, the autonomy law came as an embodiment of the democratic view on which the revolution based its practices in the political, economic, and social life of the region.

In light of results of the application of the said law, the regime issued administrative directive No 4 of 1975 which laid down the administrative basis of the executive council and the public trust associated with it. Accordingly, bureaus and agencies specified in the law were detached from the central ministries and linked to the appropriate autonomous administrations.

This was followed by the issuance of laws, regulations, and resolutions that dealt with the enforcement of the law, broadened the duties, and powers of the legislative and executive agencies of the autonomous government, and endeavored on a large scale to stimulate growth in the region.

The revolution devoted exceptional care to furnish the region with the requisite for development in order that it might join the path of development of other areas of the country, and make up for whatever eluded it during past abnormal circumstances. Accordingly, indefatigable zeal for construction and development is pervading the region.

In order to facilitate application of the autonomy law extensively and productively, the regime issued the above mentioned administrative directives. They encompassed the mandatory powers of the executive and legislative leadership in the region. The president of the executive council was granted powers of relevant ministries for the implementation of the projects of the region's development plan. The general secretariat for the administration of economic and financial affairs was commissioned to draw up budgetary estimates for the region. Likewise, economic and financial agencies in the region were attached to the said secretariat.

Since the promulgation of the autonomy law in 1974, the revolution has turned its growing attention toward the autonomous region and has accorded it its special concern. Industrial and agricultural projects and installations were started, and government agencies and instrumentalities, as well as the autonomous authority, endeavored to offer the best services to the citizens of the region. All of this is reflected in the huge sums earmarked for the region's development. In the year, 1975, i.e., a single year after the issuance and implementation of the autonomy law, a program of investment in the region was drawn up, the appropriations for which amounted to 336.862 million dinars. Within less than 2 years, this appropriation for the region's investment program doubled, reaching 607.99 million dinars in 1977, and 960.189 million dinars in 1979.

The Agriculture Law

In the area of agriculture, the region has indeed witnessed development, even a definite leap in this realm. Following the legislation of Law No 90 of 1975, efforts were directed toward the development of the agricultural situation in its 2 aspects: animal husbandry and plant cultivation. There was designated for this goal the necessary sums in addition to 3.3267 million dinars. The rapid implementation of this law had its clear effect in the realization of agricultural development.

This law did have great specific effects on the entire agricultural situation in the region as it gave the land to whoever farmed it. Furthermore, thanks to this law, a new framework for socialist relations was established, so that local and [federated] cooperatives, specialized and nonspecialized, sprang up throughout the region. It also made possible the furnishing of improved seeds, fertilizers and agricultural machinery to a large number of the area's peasants. The farmer education centers have assumed a leading role in the area through the demonstration of modern scientific methods of cultivation to the farmers, educating farmers on management of cooperatives and collective farms, and organizing a great many training and educational courses for them. By this and other means, clear progress has been achieved in the productive level of the agricultural sector in the region. The figures set in the agricultural plan for the winter and summer seasons which were approved by the ninth annual agricultural convention, clearly express the great upturn in the amount of cultivated acreage and the quantities produced.

Industry

As to the industrial domain, the region is now witnessing a great expansion in industrialization, after the completion of a large number of important industrial projects, such as: the sugar refinery in Sulaymaniyah, the tobacco processing plants in Sulaymaniyah, Halabjah, and Kuysanjaq, an electrical power station in Dukan; a cigarette factory in Irbil; a fruit dehydration and wine production plant in Harir; the Irbil dairy plant;

the artistic glass factory in Irbil; the woolen textile mill and the fruit cannery in Dahuk; the expanded Sarjanar cement factory; the stone cutting and marble works in Irbil; and so on.

Other Projects

Side by side with the expansion occurring in the industrial and agricultural sectors in the region, there was effected the implementation of many industrial and agricultural school projects.

As for housing and services projects, their aims have been expanded and their capabilities expanded. They have begun to take swift strides toward changing the face of the situation in the districts, towns and provinces of the region.

The endeavors included the resorts and tourist areas in order to provide a pleasant atmosphere for citizens who come to these regions. Thus, operations have been under way for the construction and expansion of tourist and luxury hotels and facilities. In the realm of education and science, the region has witnessed an increase in the volume of appropriations and projects undertaken, such as the construction of schools, institutes, and scientific centers.

Health Services

Health services have realized great developments in the autonomous region during the years which immediately followed the promulgation of the autonomy law and the creation of the autonomous institutions. Health institutions, thanks to the continual support by the revolution, have made their presence felt through expansion of their area of service and growth of their human and material resources. Those working in them have achieved positive results in the areas of both therapeutic and preventative services. Accompanying the increases in the numbers of health centers and hospitals was a similar increase in the number of beds and a comprehensive expansion of the staff working in them. These health workers had the task of raising the level of health services, especially preventative services, in keeping with developments taking place in the field of health under the revolution.

With the increase in the number of health institutions, the Ministry of Health and the general secretariat of the administration for social affairs for the autonomous region have moved in earnest to aid these institutions with staff in the various fields of specialization.

The leadership of the party and the revolution, which has deep faith in man, for whose sake it struggles, has striven to raise his standard and to deliver him from the state of backwardness in which he has been living. By way of implementing this, modern villages having all the necessities of modern life, such as municipal, health, educational, and social services, have sprung up throughout the region.

Furthermore, attention has been given to the increased building of roads in the region in order to link its various parts together, so that the necessary services may reach the most remote area and the most distant village.

Folk and vocational organizations have enjoyed great support from the revolution. For the first time, organizations of boys, young men, students, workers, farmers, teachers, artists, scouts, and women have been able to achieve a great deal of progress under the aegis of the favorable atmosphere created by the revolution for them.

During the past 6 years, the region has indeed witnessed essential changes. Construction and restoration have spread to all parts of the region to alter backward conditions which prevailed in them. The area is now experiencing an extensive revival in all domains. All of this is plainly evidenced by the huge sums set aside in the annual plans for large projects which actively contribute to changing the state of the region. In addition, other large sums are allocated on an ad hoc basis outside of the annual plans to support efforts to develop the region.

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ISRAEL'S DESIRE FOR ACTIVE ROLE IN ANTI-SOVIET STRATEGY SCORED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Jan 80 p 9

[Article by Sh. Z. Avramov: "Where Is Discretion?"]

[Text] Recently, the impression that, as the tension in our region rises, poverty of thought and hastiness of action increase among government leaders, has intensified. Instead of discretion, we have witnessed an abundance of statements, which have nothing to do with a realistic evaluation of the situation. Out of the haste to "do good" to our big ally and thus to be rewarded, we became losers, our honor was damaged and we became a nuisance that was disliked. Apparently, this activity began because of the unfounded assumption that, as tension between the blocs rises, so does the specific importance of the State of Israel in the eyes of the free world.

Even if there was a basis for assuming that the shocks that occurred in the Middle East have increased our importance, we should have waited for an invitation to cooperate in the defense of the region. Our military power and our geopolitical position were not unknown to the leaders of American policy and it could be taken for granted that they would turn to us if, in their opinion, the situation called for this. This happened before and, when we were asked, we complied and gained appreciation. It was clear to any sensible person that, in order to build a dam against Soviet expansion, the United States needed, first of all, the support of the Moslem countries and including Israel in this deployment could hurt this strategy.

Although Israel is an important asset in the eyes of the United States, at this time it has no active role in this strategy. It could be assumed that the facts of life in the region would dictate restraint of words and discretion of action to our government.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to discern in the government's moves a rational approach and discretion. As recalled, a minister in the government hastened to declare publicly his readiness to give "professional assistance" to rescue the hostages in Teheran. Since then, mainly after the Afghanistan crisis, government leaders announced Israel's readiness to enable the United States to establish bases, to place installations at its disposal and so forth.

Even when the United States did not show enthusiasm at the "generosity" of the state of Israel, they repeated their offers and did not sense that they not only failed to attain their objective, but damaged the honor of the state as well.

When the existence of American-Egyptian military cooperation as part of the Middle-Eastern strategy against the Soviet Union became known, this was received as a blow to Israel. The only "achievement" of Israeli activism was an authorized clarification that American strategy, first of all, needs Egypt and perhaps other Moslem countries, but not Israel. Did government ministers perhaps believe that our prominence in the anti-Soviet campaign and our eagerness for strategic cooperation with Egypt would divert the attention from the autonomy problem?

Reality was a slap in their faces. Priority is now given to the autonomy problem, whereas Egypt declared that, as long as the Palestinian problem was not solved, Egyptian-Israeli cooperation in a campaign in which the Moslem world was mainly involved was not possible.

One must wonder at the prevalent view--a view fostered by the authorities--that American military presence in Egypt calls for similar presence in Israel. One can discern disappointment and even anger at the fact that in regional strategic planning the United States preferred Egypt to Israel. Indeed, a situation that will force the United States to cooperate militarily with Israel or to request a base in our country may be created. Fortunately, this situation does not exist and the United States can manage its strategy with military presence in Egypt. It can be assumed that in the Middle Eastern strategic deployment Egyptian, not American, units will act to extinguish the fires in the region, or even to take initiatives.

Indeed, Egypt is liable to be America's policeman in the Middle East. Israel cannot and, from the standpoint of national interests, should not aspire to be the one to carry out this mission. The contribution of the State of Israel to the free world lies in its very existence in this region and the leaders of American policy are aware of this.

The more we retain our position without American military presence in our country, the better off we will be. There is no need to discuss at length the known social and other implications from the existence of foreign bases in such a small country, both from the standpoint of the area and the population. Nor should the restrictions that this military presence will impose on foreign policy be ignored. We and our brothers in the United States were always able to proudly point to our ability to defend ourselves without needing foreign soldiers. With the establishment of a foreign base we will lose this political and moral advantage and in the eyes of the world we will appear as taking refuge in the shadow of a big power.

The eagerness for American military presence here is part of the political climate that the Likud government fosters diligently. In his appearances in the country and abroad the prime minister sought to emphasize Israel's importance to the free world in the struggle between the blocs and believed that, as this view was instilled, Israel's esteem would rise. This move

disappointed the expectations, because the shapers of American policy know well that Israel has no choice but to support the free world and, therefore, it deserves no prize. It is not only that Israel was not rewarded by fostering this political line, but its seriousness was damaged, because its aspiration to appear as a leading force in the anti-Soviet campaign is in no proportion to its international importance.

In creating an image of an outstanding and active anti-Soviet element, Israel did not gain a political achievement in the free world. On the other hand, it can hurt itself, because in the eyes of the communist world it appears as a hostile element that should be hit at every opportunity. Israel, like any democratic state, is anti-communist, but in its desire to stand out as an active anti-Soviet element it is liable to evoke undesirable reactions.

Israel's national interests require the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Union and, if we are unable to advance this move, we should not pile obstacles on its path. After 12 years of broken relations perhaps this situation seems normal to many. But the absence of these relations is not only not normal in the world in which we live, but dangers are also inherent in it. A balanced and responsible policy calls for maximum caution, fostering an image befitting the size of our state and avoiding any step that can aggravate the situation.

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REASONS FOR PROTEST STRIKE BY PUBLIC WORKERS ANALYZED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Jan 80 p 9

[Article by Avraham Tal: "Opposition in Blue Overalls"]

[Text] The strike organized by the workers' committees of public enterprises and institutions, which may paralyze vital services today and during the week, is puzzling as to its true motives, despite the fact that last week the spokesmen of these committees made considerable efforts to explain their moves to the public. One of the reasons they mentioned--the intention of the Ministry of Finance to cancel part of the allowances for children--for all practical purposes was nullified last week. In the matter of tax ceilings the minister of finance did not agree to the demand of the Histadrut in connection with the irregular cost-of-living allowance in January. However, the fundamental question is open to discussion and the negotiations on labor agreements and an extension of the long-term agreement on the cost-of-living increment, which will be conducted during the next few months, is the appropriate framework for deciding on it.

The intention of the Ministry of Finance to freeze the labor agreements is a third pretext for the strike, but against the background of the customary negotiation pattern in Israel a strike in January on a matter whose determining date is the beginning of April seems a little early. The fourth pretext--fear of unemployment--is also quite doubtful. For the time being, it is merely a question of a forecast, not of reality. If there is unemployment on a significant scale (and the unemployed are not quickly absorbed in other enterprises), the workers of the electric company, Dead Sea enterprises and airports and a significant number of the strikers will be the last to be concerned about their jobs. Conversely, only those that are as secure about their jobs as the workers of the electric company, Dead Sea enterprises and so forth can permit themselves to easily decide on "protest strikes," like the one taking place today, and to threaten to take additional steps in the future.

Indeed, it is true that some aspects of the economic policy planned by the minister of finance can be of concern to many people and the frightening statements by Mr Hurvitz are not exactly tranquilizers. Nevertheless, the vigor and urgency with which some organizers of the strike act gives the impression that they have additional motives.

New Channels

A significant number of the strikers have specific pretexts for exerting pressure, but they are prevented from doing this in the usual manner and within the limited enterprise framework. El Al workers committed themselves to keeping industrial peace, but the fear that the new organization will hurt the company prompts them to act. Action within the framework of "workers' committees" provides a convenient channel and a "legitimate" excuse to act against the government policy, part of which is the rehabilitation of El Al.

Roentgen workers, who also joined the group of protesters, in their dispute with the public employer are prevented from engaging in a regular strike by the emergency regulations. The workers of the electric company are in the midst of a dispute with the management of their company. The same applies to communication-engineering workers and to other groups.

Another possibility is that some committee activists are no longer satisfied with the limited framework of the enterprise or institution in order to express their leadership ability and are looking for new channels for their power on a national level. Indeed, the tone of the statements by some committee heads gives the impression that they have made the decision to transfer the "fight" from the places of work to the limelight of the public arena and to play a key role in it.

Most probably, this is connected with the disappointment with the leadership of the Histadrut, which seems to the activists moderate, hesitant, established and too slow. One of the committee spokesmen clearly said that his object was to change the character of the Histadrut and to make it into a federation of workers (probably, to distinguish it from that of "public officials"). The Histadrut performed a trailing and subservient role in the strike episode. Its strength and influence could postpone the strike exactly 4 days (from Wednesday to Sunday), no more. According to the acting secretary of the Histadrut, it did not "encourage" the strikers, but "supported their demands." Indeed, it wished that they "coordinate" their steps with it, but did not "disassociate itself from the strike" that was not coordinated with it.

But it seems that the main reason for the organization lies in the nature of the organizers and in the fact that, as a result of restraining and moderate economic policy, they may lose some of the achievements gained by activating their power as pressure groups in the last few years. Among the committees that organized the strike there is not a single group of workers that belongs to the nonpublic sector and there is only one group of outstanding production workers (workers of Dead Sea enterprises who enjoy absolutely exceptional working conditions).

In general, strong and powerful groups, which "led" in labor disputes in the last decade and by virtue of their power achieved preferential working conditions, are involved. There is not a single group among the hundreds of thousands of hired workers with an average and lower income that can be hurt as a result of a recession in the business sector (industrial workers) and a cut in public budgets (service workers).

It is not only that the jobs of the workers of the electric company, seamen, including naval officers, workers of the airport authority and many other strikers are much more secure than the jobs of workers in industry and in public services. In the last decade they have achieved exceptional benefits, which will enable them to absorb with relative ease the burdens heralded by the economic policy in the area of cuts in subsidies, realistic pricing of services and reduction in demands. They seek to prevent this burden despite the fact that it is easier for them to carry it than for others.

Opposition to Any Government

Without any connection to the motives of the strike organizers, the seriousness of this phenomenon should not be underestimated. A harsh potential of opposition was created here. It is led by a group of ambitious and experienced activists who have emerged at their jobs and do not accept the authority of central institutions--the Histadrut or the pertinent trade-union. They are used to power struggles, including the use of semiviolent methods, and their point of view does not go beyond their personal and immediate group interests.

The leaders in blue overalls represent an automatic opposition to any government that will try to pursue a policy of recession, which according to its nature, will hurt--along with the medium-level and small business sector--mainly the very wide strata of the middle and high class. The leaders of the strike do not represent the first, second and third section of the population. They are outstanding representatives of the big established middle and high class, which is liable to lose relatively more than others.

The power of these leaders may paralyze vital services and, if it is activated without restraint, the national emergency policy in the economic area as well. This phenomenon should be of concern to the Alignment not less than to the Likud government. We are entering a long period of uncertainty, during which we will be burdened not only by the undermined economic situation, but also by regional and global instability, which are beyond the field of vision of the activist of the existing workers' committee.

These dangers call for an emergency deployment of the economy, whose general lines will be no different whether the Likud government or the Alignment government is in office. Therefore, the opposition in blue overalls is not the problem of the Likud government, as an impression may be created, but a problem of the society and economy in general.

FOREIGN COMPANIES COMPETE FOR SALE OF PLANE OF THE FUTURE TO IDF

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Jan 80 pp 9, 10

(Article by Zeev Yefet: "Friends in Aircraft Deals")

[Text] The first article extensively analyzed the case of appointment of Mordekhay Hod, former commander of the Air Force, as the representative of and adviser to the Northrop Co., one of the three American companies competing for the contract for the manufacture of the IDF's plane of the future. Since the time of decision is close, the competition among the three companies--Northrop, McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics--for the deal, which will amount to billions of dollars, is becoming stronger.

I asked Mordekhay Hod whether he was not afraid that the Northrop Co. hired him only to exhaust all the possibilities of using his good contacts in the Air Force and the Ministry of Defense because of his deep friendship with Erer Weizman. I also asked: If a decision is made to choose another company's plane, not the FA 18, Northrop's proposal, in his opinion, will the company break its relations with him, giving him an advance notice of 30 days, as is customary in the United States?

Such a case occurred several years ago, when Beni Peled was the commander of the Air Force. The American Rockwell Company, which was not represented in Israel, was interested in selling advanced training planes manufactured at its plants. It hired two Air Force officers in the reserves, who today work in El Al, as its representatives in Israel on the basis of a fixed annual pay. They asked the commander of the Air Force if there was an intention to replace the fugas used as training planes and received a negative answer.

The two were honest enough to immediately notify the Rockwell Company of this, even though they could have delayed their answer at least for a year and in the meantime lived well at the company's expense. They received a return answer that the company cancelled its contract with them.

Hod answered that this possibility existed, although he did not believe that the Northrop Company, which is certainly interested in preserving its good reputation, would act in this way, especially as he was hired to be the company's adviser not only in Israel, but all over the world.

Israeli Interests

From the standpoint of Israel's national interests it is preferable that a representative of a foreign company is not a known and famous Israeli, but a senior representative of the company sent to Israel. The reason for this is that a foreign representative of the company, who is eager to sell in Israel, is well acquainted with what is happening in the "backyard" of the foreign company that he represents. He knows who the true decision makers are and who in the parent company should be pressured in order to get better terms or assistance.

On the other hand, an Israeli representative of a foreign company, even if he is a known and famous figure in Israel, is not at all familiar with what is happening inside the company abroad. Moreover, being well-familiar with what is happening in Israel--who the decision makers are, where the foci of strength lie and what way of thinking characterizes various figures--he supplies this important information to the company abroad, which is liable to use him for its commercial needs, while such a use often does not suit Israeli interests.

Thus, while the Northrop Company contracted Mordekhay Hod as a consultant, each of the two other companies fighting for the contract for building the plane of the future used other ways of establishing their representatives in Israel.

George Levin is the representative of the McDonnell Douglas Company in Israel. The McDonnell Douglas Company offers the F4 18 plane to Israel. Levin is a Jew, former colonel in the American Air Force, who was sent to Israel in 1969 as his company's representative. Since the beginning of his work in Israel up to now the IDF absorbed the Skyhawk, the Phantom and recently the F 15 manufactured by McDonnell Douglas. As the company's representative his job is to transmit current material on all the company's technological innovations to the authorized officials in the IDF and in the Ministry of Defense and to interest the appropriate officials in new purchase offers.

Push for Elul

The Israeli Purchase Delegation in the United States also receives similar material and transmits it to the same officials in Israel. But from the company's standpoint the personal contact, "bothering" the decision makers, is, of course, preferable. When Air Force officials from time to time need urgent information on how to resolve an unexpected mishap, they prefer to turn directly, not through ordinary channels, to the company's representative in Israel. The representative contacts the company's center in the United States and tries to receive a quick answer to the question that arose.

Levin says that it took him 4 years to be able to recognize the complex network of the appropriate figures with whom one must maintain contacts and to whom one must transmit current information on the latest developments in one's company. As was detailed in depth in the first article, Yosef Ma'ayan,

director general of the Ministry of Defense, and Minister of Defense Ezer Weizman say that all representatives got equal treatment and Hod will not get better treatment than, for example, George Levin.

The representatives' job is to supply all the possible information, but the decision on the choice of a plane will be made on the basis of consideration of the best choice. However, these calming words cannot yet disregard the question as to whether it would not be appropriate to create, in connection with big purchase deals costing vast amounts of money, a kind of equal competition that would be free of personal feelings based on old friendships and memories of common battles.

The Elul office, which belongs to David Qolitz and David Rubin, represents General Dynamics, the third company competing for the sale of the IDF's plane of the future, to Israel. General Dynamics offers the improved F 16 plane. David Qolitz has been Ezer Weizman's personal friend for years. Weizman made many political decisions only after consultation with his friend. Qolitz was Weizman's spokesman when the latter was minister of transport. Weizman also took him along on one of his flights to Egypt to be his special spokesman.

In 1973-1974 Ezer Weizman was an active partner in the Elul office and at the end of that year he sold his shares in that office.

The Elul office, which represents foreign companies interested in selling equipment to the civilian market and to the IDF, was established in 1972 and received a significant push when Ezer Weizman joined it. In 1976 David Rubin, the son of the famous painter, joined the office as a partner. In February 1977 the office expanded greatly when it bought the long-established Tumet Company, which represented several Swiss and German enterprises dealing with the manufacture of scientific and measuring instruments, but there is no doubt that Elul got the greatest push last March, when it became the general representative of the General Dynamics Company in Israel. This representation for a big amount of money paid on an annual basis made the Elul Company the biggest in Israel in the area of representation of foreign companies.

As part of the agreement for the sale of the F 16 planes of the present generation (not of the improved F 16 planes that the company offers as the future generation) to Israel the company committed itself to purchasing plane parts worth 200 million dollars in Israel over a period of 5 years. The Elul office represents the company in this matter in Israel. Elul also transmits monthly bulletins of information on all the important events taking place in Israel to the company in the United States.

It should be kept in mind that many Israelis are fighting to be representatives or agents of foreign enterprises doing big business in Israel. The very fact of winning the representation of such a giant company as Northrop or General Dynamics means a significant improvement in the chances to represent other enterprises. Any average enterprise in the United States

will be happy to be represented in Israel by a company that already represents a giant enterprise. In this case the situation is reversed: It is not necessary to chase after the enterprise in the United States in order to obtain representation. The foreign enterprise courts the Israeli whose visiting card notes that he is the representative of a giant American company.

The Attaché Joins

The key question is why General Dynamics entered into contractual relations with the Elul Company. Qolitz is known as an energetic and honest businessman. According to him, his office is prepared to handle the tasks entrusted to him by General Dynamics. He has a staff of economists and a team of 10 engineers who are experts in their field. At the same time, there is no doubt that, before the contract had been signed, it was possible to find in the country a significant number of bigger offices, which could have represented the American Company in an appropriate way.

It may be that the company management, for valid reasons of competition, considered and decided that it should choose someone with the best and most friendly relations with the minister of defense, who makes the final decision on the purchase of the plane of the future. Nor is there any doubt that David Qolitz has extensive and up-to-date information on everything that is happening behind the scenes in the foci of power in Israel and, of course, this information is also highly important for the American Company.

David Rubin says that, when his company made contacts to obtain representation of foreign companies, the deep and special friendship between his partner David Qolitz and Ezer Weizman was never mentioned directly or alluded to.

At the same time, there is no doubt that any enterprise abroad and, certainly, such a giant company as General Dynamics, before signing the contract, well clarified with whom it would be worthwhile to associate itself.

In the meantime, after becoming a consultant to the General Dynamics Company, the Elul office also became a consultant to the giant American Lockheed Company (among its other products sold to the IDF there are the Hercules planes). Brig Gen (Res) Aharon ("Yalo") Yalovski, who during his last military duty stayed in the United States as a military adviser to the Air Force, recently joined Elul as a senior director.

Yalovski joined the Elul Company immediately upon completion of his service in the IDF. After an examination the legal adviser to the minister of defense established that, since Yalovski never engaged in purchase matters in his job in the United States, he did not have to appear before a committee, which would determine if the cooling period regulations applied to him. Now, even though a long time after the signing of the contract between Elul and General Dynamics, the Elul office has a former senior commander in the Air Force, who is well-versed in everything connected with the latest planes both because of his duties as a battle commander in Israel and the contacts that he developed during his work in the United States.

Last Sunday David Qolitz and Aharon ("Yalo") Yalovsqi (Shavit) flew to the United States in order to meet, among others, with David Louis, president of the McDonnell Douglas Company. On Wednesday of the same week Moti Hod returned to Israel from the United States, having met with Tom Jones, president of the Northrop Company. Hod is busy organizing the preparations for the expected visit of Northrop with a big entourage to Israel next week. The purpose of the visit is to convince the authorized officials that the plane offered by his company is the most suitable for Israel's needs.

A well-known pilot in the Air Force told me the following: Hod, Qolitz, "Yalo" and all the other representatives are doing their job and we have no complaints about this. At the same time, we must see to it that, indeed, the considerations in the selection of the plane of the future are substantive.

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CSO: 4805

PUBLIC IS PREPARED FOR DRASTIC ECONOMIC MEASURES

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 23 May 80 p 1

[Article by Mark Segal]

[Text] TEL AVIV. — A sizeable majority of the public supports drastic economic measures, including sharp cuts in government spending and social services, even if it means a lowering of the standard of living.

This emerged from the latest *Jerusalem Post* poll, conducted by the Modi'in Barachli applied research centre among a representative sample of 1,000 adults.

Asked, "Are you for drastic economic measures, even at the cost of lower living standards?" 71.7 per cent said yes, 26.7 per cent replied no, and 3.6 per cent were undecided.

A supplementary question on whether those polled were for cuts in government spending even if it involved reduced public services, and particularly social services, produced results of 68.1 per cent for, 31.8 per cent against and 3.1 per cent undecided.

Analysis of the responses by centre director Amiram Yarkoni found

greater support for drastic measures among voters of the Likud and the NRP.

Yarkoni found the most marked support for tougher economic measures and government spending cuts among men, particularly those of secular persuasion and on the higher rungs of the economic and educational scale. This view was also more pronounced among white-collar occupations than blue-collar workers.

CSO: 4820

NEARLY 60,000 UNEMPLOYED BY YEAR'S END

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 27 May 80 p 3

[Article by Aryeh Rubinstein]

[Text] Labour and Social Affairs Minister Israel Katz told the Knesset yesterday that the number of unemployed is expected to rise by about 20,000 by the end of the year, to 57,000.

But even that is a far cry from the 100,000 unemployed predicted when the government's new economic measures were introduced last November, Katz said.

Surveying his ministry's activities in the Knesset, Katz also took a poke at the Alignment when he recalled that in the dark days of the 1967 recession, the unemployed had constituted 10.4 per cent of the labour force. Today the figure is 4.3 per cent.

Katz said that despite all that has been done to protect the real value of pensions and allocations to the needy, the erosion of these payments under conditions of three-digit inflation was still a serious problem.

Some points made in the debate:

Shoshana Arbell (Alignment): The minister did not fight hard enough for a larger slice of the

budget pie, and he would do well to resign.

Sarah Doron (Likud-Liberals): They speak of unemployment who sit in air-conditioned offices, draw salaries of 180,000 a month, and claim to represent the workers.

Mordechai Virshubski (Shai): Under Katz's stewardship, the "complex and sensitive" area of labour relations, previously in the province of a separate ministry of labour, has been "completely neglected."

Sh'adia Marciano (Sheli) — In his maiden speech: The plight of the working classes is grave, and they are bitter. The Likud has a year and a half to repair the damage. As for the Alignment, it had better come up with a "social compact" before the elections.

CSO: 4820

BANK OF ISRAEL SEES GRIM ECONOMIC VISTA

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 30 May 80 pp 1, 15

[Article by Shlomo Maoz]

[Text] Stagflation, or an increase in unemployment without any significant drop in inflation, may well be the country's economic fate, warned Bank of Israel Governor Arnon Gafny yesterday. Gafny was introducing the bank's annual report on the state of the economy in the past year.

According to Gafny, 1979 was marked by a relatively sharp check on demand both in the private sector and in the business sector. This, he said, resulted from the government's monetary policy, which had increased interest rates and limited credit, while at the same time increasing activity in the public sector.

But while this policy may well achieve its short-term aims, its long-term effects are likely to be a falloff in private-sector activity that goes far beyond what is desirable. Productivity and investments are both likely to be adversely affected, and the pace of economic growth will slow down.

Wage rises must be kept in check, Gafny said, adding that while Israelis should not be compensated for oil price rises on the world market, workers should be compensated more often for the effects of inflation.

(Speaking yesterday to Technion students, Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz said real wages will go down this year. We will be lucky, he said, if we can maintain wages at the level reached last year.

Hurvitz blamed real wage rises in 1979 on employers who had lured

employees away from their competitors by paying higher wages.

The economy is in crisis, Hurvitz said, adding that all the concerned parties would have to arrive at some agreement on wages and increased productivity. If this does not happen, Hurvitz warned, inflation will gallop far beyond control.)

The OPEC oil price rises of the past year were tantamount to the imposition of an 8 per cent tax on the national income, Gafny said. The attempt to check demand and simultaneously raise salaries and other income to a point that the economy could not bear is likely to drag us towards stagflation, Gafny cautioned. Instead, he advocated a budgetary policy of continuing restraint. This, he said, must be accompanied by a stabilizing monetary and incomes policy.

The upshot of all this is a drastic cut in the state budget, a drop in real wages, restraints on credit, and savings schemes designed to mop up more money from the public.

Gafny also sounded a warning note when he pointed out that 1979 was the fifth year in succession in which work productivity in the business sector had failed to rise. The central bank, he said, has no reasonable explanation for this phenomenon.

But Mordechai Frankel of the bank's research department pointed out that, with inflation rates as high as they have been recently — up to 111.4 per cent in 1979 — some distortions are bound to appear, particularly in the area of productivity. In times like these, he

said, the production manager tends to be less important than the business manager whose financial transactions may bring a firm more profits than can be realized by any improvements in efficiency on the production line.

The world economy, Gafny pointed out in his opening remarks, fought last year against a severe crisis engendered by rising fuel prices. It was the second time this had happened since 1973. Gafny said, OPEC's policies had in effect levied a tax on all oil-consuming countries. This had led to increased rates of inflation and a slowing down of economic growth in most countries.

In this context Gafny had special praise for the 8 per cent increase in exports exclusive of diamonds registered by the economy in 1979 — the one ray of light he found.

Generally speaking, the economy was far from having achieved the aims set for it — halting inflation and cutting the deficit in the balance of payments.

The deficit in the current account of the private sector stood at \$3.8b. in 1979, up by 35 per cent, with half the increase due to rises in oil prices.

Although there had been no growth in productivity and the country's trade situation had deteriorated, with the prices of imports rising far more than the prices received for exports, there was a real rise of 3.7 per cent in

wages throughout the economy last year, and an increase of close to 1 per cent in the business sector.

Gafny was referring to real, gross wages. In fact, net wages apparently showed no growth — but there are no accurate statistics on this. On the other hand, employers' real costs for labour went up by 10 per cent.

Gafny said the speed-up in the pace of inflation had increased the subsidy given to exports via the export funds. This, he hinted, was a trend that was likely to be reversed.

Gross national product grew by 4.7 per cent in 1979, and real private disposable income went up by 0.9 per cent. Private consumption was up by 6.1 per cent, with private per capita consumption rising by 3.5 per cent. On the other hand, public consumption dropped by 8.8 per cent, although if direct defence imports are left out of the account, it

rose by 3.3 per cent. Gross local investments grew by 15.8 per cent.

Imports in 1979 totalled \$12.8b., but exports were only \$8.4b. The country's balance of payments deficit was thus \$3.8b.

The national debt was \$15b. at the end of 1979.

Meanwhile, as Gafny hinted, the central bank is already at work on a comprehensive programme to change financing arrangements for exports, and, especially, for the import of diamonds.

The central bank is also pressing for changes that will correct distortions in the taxation system whereby linkage differentials are calculated for tax purposes at the time that they occur, rather than when they are actually paid. This, the bank claims, takes the sting out of the system of linked development loans that the government decided on a year ago.

Gafny points out that, under the present system, the diamond trade gets credit for exporting diamonds. This, he says, is a system that is anchored in tradition, but it no longer serves the interests of the economy.

Instead, the bank is now working on a system that will give the credit for diamond exports. This will block the extension of credit used to build up diamond stocks in Israel which the bank is not interested in supporting. As a first stage in the programme, the bank wants to stop credit for the import of polished stones.

Gafny admitted yesterday that there are a number of disadvantages to the cheap financing of exports via the special export funds. The system is unconnected with the added value of the exports, it affects interest rates in other economic sectors, and the size of the subsidies depends on the rate of inflation.

OVER 50 PERCENT WANT GOVERNMENT TO STEP DOWN

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 27 May 80 p 3

[Article by Mark Segal]

[Text] Tel Aviv.--Over half the population think the government should resign, and even more favour early elections, according to the latest Jerusalem Post poll conducted by the Modi'in Ezrachi applied research entre among a representative sample of 1,302 adults. The poll was held earlier this month.

When asked whether the government should step down right away or stay on, 51.5 per cent wanted it out, 40.9 per cent wanted it to hold on, 1.6 per cent had other answers, and 6 per cent could not make up their minds.

Fewer were undecided--3.4 per cent--when it came to holding early elections, with 55.1 per cent for and 41.5 per cent against.

Centre director Amiram Yarkoni noted that more women (53.2 per cent) than men (50.4 per cent) want the government to resign. The ratio rises as regards early elections, with 57.9 per cent of women and 45.3 per cent of men in favour. The government is particularly unpopular among the 23-30 age group (58.8 per cent want it to resign), second-generation sabras (57 per cent), blue-collar workers (56.3 per cent), the non-religious (62.8), those living in rural areas (65.6 per cent), and--not unexpectedly--those who voted for Labour (83.8 per cent) and the defunct Democratic Movement for Change (84.6 per cent).

Those favouring early elections present a similar profile with the demand equally high among upper- and lower-income strata, and strong among the 23-30 and 41-50 age groups. Opposition to early elections is marked among Jerusalemites.

If elections were held now, an independent Rafi slate led by Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz would win 7.2 per cent of the votes, or nine Knesset seats. But if such a list were headed by Moshe Dayan, it would get 10.6 per cent of 13 seats, the poll shows.

Those interviewed were asked how they would vote if the Likud broke up before the elections and Iharvitz lead an independent Rafi list on a platform of strong economic measures and the retention of the administered territories for security purposes. The results were Rafi, 7.2 per cent; Likud (minus Rafi), 12.7 per cent; Labour, 33 per cent; National Religious Party, 5.1 per cent; Aguda bloc, 1.3; Shai 0.9; Democrats, 0.2; Tehiya, 1.3; Independent Liberal Party, 0.2; other, 1.3; floating vote, 36.8 per cent (can't decide, 26.3; won't vote, 7.1; won't say, 3.4).

CSO: 4820

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

17,000 LEFT TERRITORIES IN 1978—About 17,000 persons emigrated from the West Bank and Gaza Strip during 1979, the Central Bureau of Statistics said yesterday. The population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip grew by 19,500 last year and stood at 1,131,000 persons—698,000 in Judea and Samaria and 432,000 in the Gaza Strip. Some 12,600 emigrated last year from the West Bank and 4,400 from the Gaza Strip. The work force in the administered territories was 214,000 last year of whom 35 per cent, or 74,000 persons, worked in Israel—a rise of 9 per cent compared to 1978. [Text] [Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 26 May 80 p 2]

CBO: 4820

ACTIVITIES OF SYRIAN-JORDANIAN COMPANY DISCUSSED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 6 Apr 80 p 2

[Article: "Review of the Achievements and Work Plan of the Syrian-Jordanian Industrial Company"]

[Text] Yesterday, the meetings of the Syrian-Jordanian Industrial Company began under the chairmanship of Dr Husayn al-Qadi, the Syrian minister of industry, and 'Ali al-Nusut, the Jordanian minister of industry and trade.

In its meetings, which will last for 2 days, the plenary session will discuss the company's plan for the coming year and will evaluate the work it did during this past year, as well as the measures which were carried out in the realm of setting up industrial projects that had been previously approved. [The plenary session will also discuss] the board of directors' annual report for last year, the general budget, and the choosing of auditors.

It should be noted that the company was established within the framework of an agreement for economic cooperation and organization of commercial exchange between the two fellow-Arab countries. The agreement was made in 1975.

Mr Muhammad al-Saqqaf, the [Jordanian] deputy minister supplies, who is chairman of the board of directors, said that the agreement under which the company was set up is one of the beneficial results of the path of cooperation which was prescribed by King Hussein and his brother Arab, President Hafiz al-Assad. [These gains] were consolidated by decisions made by the Syrian-Jordanian Joint Higher Committee during the numerous meetings it held in Damascus and Amman in order to coordinate the efforts of the two countries, to strengthen their capabilities, and to mobilize their resources in all areas, especially in the economic area.

The deputy minister said that the agreement calls for carrying out the final steps to implement the Arab common market, eliminating the restrictions imposed upon the mutual exchange of goods produced in each of the

two countries, setting up joint projects, and cooperating on existing projects.

He added that practical application of the principles which the two countries have agreed upon has begun to move quickly in a practical direction. [Evidence of this is] the formation of a Syrian-Jordanian industrial company, a maritime transport company, a land transportation company, an industrial company for the free zones, and a Syrian-Jordanian bank.

The deputy minister said that the company's policy aims at increasing cooperation and coordination between the two fellow-Arab countries. The company's policy also aims at pursuing a course of development by means of increasing the company's activity to start new projects while continuing to implement the projects already determined in its plans.

The Syrian Minister of Industry, Dr Qadi, had arrived in Amman yesterday morning from Damascus by way of al-Ramthah. He is making a 2-day visit to Jordan, during which he will attend the meetings of the plenary session of the Syrian-Jordanian Joint Industrial Company.

Dr Qadi made a statement to the Jordanian News Agency in which he said that the plenary session, during its meetings in Amman, will discuss the company's annual report, general budget, and projects which have been carried out in the two fellow-Arab countries.

He indicated that his discussions with his colleague, 'Ali al-Nusur, the Jordanian minister of industry and trade, will deal with future company projects, the most important of which is the white cement project.

In al-Ramthah, the Syrian minister was received by the acting governor of Irbid, the district officer of the district of al-Ramthah, the general manager of the company, and the advisor for economic affairs at the Jordanian embassy in Damascus.

9468

CSO: 4802

LOCAL DOCTOR DISCOVERS NEW BRAIN CELL

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 8 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Hasan al-'Abbad: "A Jordanian Doctor Makes a Discovery in the World of Medicine: A New Type of Brain Cell"]

[Text] A Jordanian specialist has made a new discovery in the world of medicine. Dr Munib al-Wirr, a specialist in histology on the Faculty of Medical Science at the University of Jordan, was able to make the discovery of a new type of brain cell which up till now had been unknown.

Dr Wirr accurately described these brain cells by means of using an electronic microscope, and he explained that the discovery of these cells will help to explain many of the mysterious phenomena related to some diseases which affect the brain.

Dr Wirr has given these cells the name "neurolipido-mastoid cells." However, the International Association for Anatomical Terminology, in order to show its esteem for the man who made this discovery, added his name to the name of the cell, so that the scientific name which this association adopted became "Wirr neurolipido-mastoid cells."

In order to shed some light on the nature of this discovery and the consequences it will have in the field of medicine, we held an interview with Dr Wirr in which he talked about how he made the discovery. He said: "The date of my discovery goes back to the year 1972, when I was working with a group of colleagues in the School of Medicine at the American University of Beirut. Together with one of our professors there, we were trying to concentrate a certain type of chemical substance in the fluid located inside the brain in order to find out whether or not these substances came to this fluid from the bloodstream. Up till then, it was known that the nervous system and the brain did not have the particular cells known as 'muscles,' which are the ones which secrete these chemical substances. In doing this research we utilized a number of technologically complicated procedures.

"At the beginning of our research in 1977, we arrived at the point of view that there was a particular type of cell in the nervous system, especially

in the brain, bearing in mind that scientists had been claiming that there was no such cell in the nervous system and in the brain, although these cells are known to be found in all parts of the body. After that, our group, which was composed of six persons, was able to participate in several international conferences where we submitted our research and its results, using the integrated approach, (that is), 'the integrated systems approach.' But after 1974, my colleagues left this field of research and went on to other research. However, I kept on doing my research in this field until I was able to form an integral picture of these cells and to classify them as being of two types. The first type is the type known to exist in other parts of the body, and which I claimed was found (also) in the brain. This I consider a new discovery. The second type is a type which might be related to the first type, but it differs in certain respects from the first type. The differences are in the form (of the cell) and in some of the chemical substances which constitute these cells. Thus, I gave these cells the descriptive name 'neurolipido-mastoid cells.'

"'Neuro' is derived from 'nervous system,' because of the [cells'] location in the nervous system. The second part (of the term), 'lipido,' comes from the word 'lipide,' which means 'fat substances,' because the small bodies of matter found in these cells are very rich in fat. As for the third part (of the term), 'mastoid,' it is derived from 'muscles,' meaning 'cells which are similar to muscles.'"

The Wirr Cells

Concerning how the world gave recognition to this discovery and named it after the discoverer, Dr Wirr said: "I represented the University of Jordan in the International Anatomy Conference which was held at Ohio [State] University in the United States in August of 1979. I was a participant in this conference, because Jordan had received an invitation to attend. There, I read a detailed paper on the subject of the above-mentioned cells, and my paper aroused great interest among participants at the conference. The chairman of the conference asked me to deliver a special lecture on the subject. When I gave the lecture, all of the conference participants were there to listen to it. Afterwards, there was a long scholarly discussion which aroused great controversy among the participating scholars. These scientists and eminent scholars numbered more than 400 and represented 50 countries.

"While this conference was being held, meetings were being held by the International Medical and Anatomical Terminology Committee, and it was then that the conference chairman's committee referred the new name (of the cells) to the International Medical Terminology Committee. Thus, the discovery was officially authorized and the International [Terminology] Committee undertook to add my name to the name of the cell, so that the name became 'Wirr neuro-lipido-mastoid cells.' The International Conference (officially) patented the new name mentioned above."

Results of the Discovery

"Subjects such as this are written about in special scientific journals. But I can safely say that recognition of the existence of this type of cell in the brain will enable [us] to give explanations for some enigmatic phenomena. The day will also come when we will benefit from knowing about the existence of these cells. This benefit will be of two sorts. The first benefit will be positive, especially since the secretions of these cells are known chemically. The second benefit is connected with the first, and this involves controlling the secretions of the cell and regulating undesirable and unhealthy secretions. Let me explain this. We know of the existence of a chemical substance in these cells which is called (hyperine). It is known that this substance prevents bloodclotting. The existence of a large number of these cells in the brain, around the blood vessels, would help prevent bloodclotting in the blood vessels of the brain. This would be due to these cells being more active in secreting the (hyperine) substance which prevents bloodclotting. This would lead to a lessening of what is called '[blood]clotting in the brain.' There is also a second substance in these cells which is called 'histamine.' It is the substance which is responsible for allergies if its level in the blood becomes too high. It is also responsible for the attack in the chest known as 'asthma.' The very fact that we know of the existence of these cells in the brain will help us to prevent these attacks. In addition, this discovery will help in the treatment of disease phenomena which afflict the brain. But all of this will remain theoretical as long as chemical experiments and applied studies are not carried out."

Man Is Our Real Resource

Concerning the obstacles which our scholars are confronted with in their research and which consequently induce many of them to emigrate to the more advanced countries, Dr Wiss said: "Jordan is very rich in its people. We have many intellectual minds which have been able to give a great deal. Jordanians have shown how vital their presence is in the universities of the world by means of their effective contribution in terms of scholarly production and raising the world's level of scholarship. But they do need more sponsorship. I know many colleagues who were not able to participate in academic conferences because they did not have the funds to do so. For example, in the University of Jordan the lack of material funds presents a barrier to many colleagues who want to participate in international academic conferences and symposiums. In addition to this, we suffer from a lack of necessary advanced scientific equipment [to aid us] in our research and studies. Proof of this is the fact that, during the last 2 years, and for reasons of technology, specifically the nonavailability of some scientific equipment, I was forced to travel to Lebanon to carry out part of my research in the American University of Beirut.

"But this is not the end of the road. We need a little bit of patience, and to make a little bit of sacrifice, and then we will overcome these obstacles. This is something that most people in the Arab countries suffer from. But this should not lead toward our scholars emigrating abroad, although the material inducements to do so are very considerable. I personally have been offered a job in one of the academically advanced countries, but I not only refused it--I refused to even discuss the offer. I am a native of Jordan, and I will remain on Jordanian soil to serve my country.

We should also know that Dr Warr is a graduate of the University of Jordan, where he received his bachelor's degree in biological sciences. He received his master's and doctor's degrees in basic medical science in the American University of Beirut. At the present time, he is a professor on the faculty of the University of Jordan's Medical School. In addition to this, he teaches 2 days a week, Thursday and Friday, in the American University of Beirut.

9468

CSO: 4802

OPPOSITION REJECTS CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 19 Mar 80 p 10

[Article: "Kuwaiti Opposition Rejects Special Constitutional Amendment Committee"]

[Text] The Kuwaiti opposition rejected the constitution revision committee which was formed recently, saying that the formation of this committee was not provided for in the articles of the old constitution, which was adopted nearly 2 years ago.

A statement was recently distributed by the opposition, and copies of it have reached members of the dissolved Parliament. It states: "The purpose of the government behind this measure to amend and revise the constitution is to curtail the various public freedoms which the previous constitution guaranteed."

The statement indicates that "the formation of the committee has come as an attempt to appease the people after the victory of the Iranian revolution, and after it became clear that the region was pregnant with momentous events." The statement touches on the conditions which have prevailed in Kuwait since the dissolution of Parliament and the suspension of the constitution. It said that this phase has seen laws and measures limiting freedom, such as the press law, the law forbidding congregating, the dissolution of the administrative boards of associations, and the taking away of some citizens' passports.

It adds that some citizens have been fired from their jobs because of their views on the decline of public freedoms, such as Dr 'Abdallah al-Nafisi, and that some newspapers, like 'AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI', have been threatened with withdrawal of their licenses for supporting the Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian revolution. Indeed, the editor in chief [of 'AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI'] was forced to resign. In concluding the statement, the opposition mentions that some national personalities have refused to participate in this committee because of their dissatisfaction with it.

0699
CSO: 4802

PLANS FOR ADDITIONS TO MERCHANT FLEET REVEALED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 15 May 80 p 17

[Article by Muhammad al-Shiti: "The Kuwaiti Fleet 2 Years From Now: 27 Transport Vessels for Oil, Products, and Gas"]

[Excerpt] By the end of 1982 Kuwait will have 27 transport vessels for oil, natural gas, and refined products, keeping it possessor of the largest fleet in the Middle East and in OPEC (as it is now).

This was revealed to AL-QABAS yesterday by Mr Faysal Thunayan al-Ghanim, chairman of the board of directors of the Kuwait Oil Tanker Co and member of the board of directors of the Kuwait Oil Co [as published]. He added: "By the end of 1982 we will have 14 oil tankers, 9 transports for refined petroleum products and 4 gas transports."

He also mentioned that Kuwait already has all 4 of the gas transports, 8 of the 14 oil tankers and 3 of the 9 transports for refined products which it will have by 1982.

Mr al-Ghanim said that this is in accordance with the official Kuwaiti plan to refine half of our oil production in the future. Naturally, when this policy is actualized, it will cause a very great expansion in the field of refined petroleum products, especially in the field of transporting them, because we will sell 40 percent of the refined half of our production (the remainder being for local consumption). Therefore, we have contracted to construct six transports for products, in addition to the three that we now have and we may need even more than that number in the future.

He said that 3 of the 6 transports will have a capacity of 28,000 tons, and the other 3 a capacity of 65,000 tons. They are being built currently in Taiwan, and they will arrive early in 1982. He said that these vessels will be used to transport the greater part of the refined 40 percent of our production.

Then, discussing oil tankers, Mr al-Ghanim said: "We recently scrapped the tanker al-Fintas because it had become old and expensive to operate. It is a supertanker (capacity 210,000 tons). Before that we scrapped the tanker Kadhima. With these 2 gone, the Kuwaiti fleet is now made up of only 8 oil tankers, with a capacity of 1.9 million tons."

Mr al-Ghanim mentioned that 4 oil tankers with a capacity of 80 tons are now in the process of being built in Japan and will arrive early in 1982.

He disclosed that negotiations to build 2 new supertankers, each with a capacity of 276,000 tons, are now in their final stages. These negotiations will conclude soon, and the first tanker will arrive in mid-1982, the second in late 1982. Concerning the details of the current Kuwaiti fleet, Mr al-Ghanim said most of the eight existing oil tankers are modern. The eight are: Warbah, al-Sabiya, al-'Arabiya, al-Badiya, al-Rawdatayn, al-Fayha', al-Riqqa, and al-Andalus, in addition to Kadhima and al-Fintas, which have been retired and sold for scrap to Taiwan, where the metal from their hulls will be recycled.

Mr al-Ghanim added that 2 of the tankers, Warbah and al-Sabiya, are of the older generation, except that they are not very large--60,000 tons--justifying expenditures on them and renovation of them to meet obligatory international standards. As far as al-'Arabiya and al-Badiya are concerned, he said that they also are of the older generation of tankers--supertankers, each with a capacity of 210,000 tons. They are almost 10 years old, while the average age of oil tankers is 15 years.

He said that these [older] supertankers do not benefit from recent technological improvements in shipbuilding. Therefore, in 5 more years, when these tankers begin to require a high degree of maintenance and operational expenditures, they will be obsolete. Then it will be better to scrap them, too.

CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

REAL ESTATE CONSORTIUM RAISES CAPITAL AND GOES PUBLIC

Paris AL-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 26 May 80 pp 12-13

[Article by our Kuwait correspondent]

[Text] The Kuwait Real Estate Investment Consortium (KREIC), which is heading a major Kuwaiti investment drive in the Far East, is raising its capital in one go from KD11 million to KD30 million (\$40.42 million to \$110.25 million); for the first time, 20 per cent of the new equity, worth KD6 million (\$22 million) will be offered to the public.

Under an agreement signed this month, KREIC will take 32 per cent of the shares in Malaysia-Kuwait Investment Co, the first joint venture of its kind. The Kuwait Institute of Social Security will take the other 16 per cent of the shares held by Kuwaiti interests and the Malaysian Government the majority 52 per cent (AL-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, March 17).

KREIC Chairman Ahmad Al-Duaij told this newsletter that, "with Europe and the U.S. stagnant, the Far East is the growth area of the future." The consortium was keen, he added, to tap the investment potential of China, but no concrete steps had yet been taken in that direction. He went on to reject the suggestion that "Europe is out," however. "A new \$40 million company, Real Estate Investment Management (REIM), has just been formed for investment in real estate and tourism in southern Europe, for instance in Greece, Cyprus, Italy and Portugal," he said. The Abu Dhabi Investment Co and the Kuwait Institute of Social Security are participating with KREIC in that venture.

The consortium had decided to increase its capital, Mr Duaij said, because "financing projects from the international market has been adversely affected by interest rates. Borrowing money has become unacceptable."

In Europe or the U.S., he explained, it was usual for the sponsors of a project to put down between 20 and 30 per cent of the cost and to borrow the rest, "but nobody can do that any more." Until now, he went on, KREIC had never allowed its equity participation in a project to be less than 50 per cent, leaving at most 50 per cent of the cost to be borrowed. "But that is becoming increasingly unattractive from the viewpoint of project feasibility."

The consortium had therefore decided to "go back to the shareholders for finance, in proportion to ownership."

Before the increase in capital, KREIC's shareholders were: The Kuwait Finance Ministry, Kuwait Hotels Co, Kuwait Investment Co, Kuwait Foreign Trading, Contracting and Investment Co, United Realty Co, Kuwait Real Estate Bank, Kuwait Real Estate Co, National Real Estate Co, and Kuwait International Investment Co.

Asked how he regarded the investment potential of the Arab world, Mr Duaij replied: "Investment in developed countries is very competitive and because of this, the returns are marginal. This is not the case in the developing countries, such as in the Arab world, where the returns on well studied projects can be tremendous. On the other hand, the headaches are greater.

"For instance, in developing procedures for dealing with governments and bureaucracies, being an Arab investor often complicates matters."

It was not necessarily an advantage to deal with one's "brother Arabs," he said, because "brothers sometimes act defensively towards one another." The past four years had been difficult, he went on, "but the results have been tremendous." KREIC had now established itself as a serious investor, chiefly in equity participations, and thought it possible that it would be invited to participate in the agricultural sectors of Tunisia's six-year plan and Morocco's five-year plan, which begins in 1981.

He described this as "the culmination of Kuwait's efforts over the past five or six years to impress on other Arab countries that investment is a serious issue. We are reaching an era when well studied proposals are being submitted to the surplus countries in much the same way as to the World Bank," he added. It was important that other Arab governments realised that KREIC and similar institutions were not in the business of handing out money out of brotherly love, although he conceded that "brotherly feelings" might give a "different flavour" to that in "purely commercial" transactions.

KREIC was active in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia, he went on, and to a lesser extent in Jordan and Bahrain. The total value of its investments in those countries, including equity and finance, was approaching \$1 billion, of which KREIC's commitment was about \$500 million, the rest having been mobilised by the consortium from local sources.

The groups was involved in all areas of real estate, "the definition of which is, at least by us, very stretched." For instance, if the consortium invested in a clinic, a hotel or a school, it regarded that as real estate investment.

In Malaysia, the investment potential was very "long range." It might include developing the country's rubber, tin and oil resources, Mr Duaij said. KREIC was anxious to expand in the Far East, and he specified China as one area where it could become involved, but he admitted that neither the consortium, nor, apparently, the Chinese authorities, really knew how to go about it at present.

CSO: 4820

CANDIDATES FOR NEW PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 14-20 Apr 80 p 19

[Article: "Candidates Are Many, But Only One is Wanted. Will a New Lebanese Government Be Followed by a National Accord?"]

[Text] Despite the fact that a national accord in Lebanon is not close to being achieved, confusion grows day after day about the fate of the al-Huss government. The highest authorities have become completely convinced of the need for a strong government capable of bearing the burdens which the reconstruction work will impose upon it, once Lebanon in fact enters a stage of stability.

Those close to the republican palace in Ba'bada confirm that President Ilyas Sarkis has placed the idea of new government on a slow burner and has given advisers a free hand to take the pulse, exert appropriate efforts, and initiate necessary contacts to surmount obstacles and difficulties in the way of forming the desired government.

Political circles have begun to discuss the names of candidates for prime minister of the new government. There are five: Salim al-Huss, Sa'ib Salam, Rashid Karami, Taqi al-Din al-Sulh, and Sa'ib Jarudi.

Prime Minister al-Huss remains the first choice, in the opinion of President Sarkis. He has been able, during the past 4 years, to stand up to the whirlwinds which raged here and there. He has refused to abandon the rescue mission, despite all he has suffered and has been subjected to, and the toll this has taken in terms of nerves and health.

However, politics in Lebanon is merciless. Lebanese politicians, especially members of the prime ministers' club, cannot wait too long [to become ministers again]. They are not, consequently, prepared to continue "sacrificing" their dreams and aspirations, and let the premiership in President Sarkis' regime remain a one man monopoly.

Even though Sa'ib Salam never allows an occasion to pass without declaring his full and absolute support for Prime Minister al-Huss, those close to him know that Sa'ib Bey longs for power, after long absence from it, and

that the contacts, which certain friends of his with local, Arab and worldwide influence are volunteering to make, are aimed at surmounting any obstacle standing in the way of his returning to power.

As for Rashid Karami, his desire for the premiership has become evident in a sudden reversal of his position. Mr Rashid remained, until just yesterday, the bearer of a sword of vengeance against the regime and the government, charging none other than the president of the republic with responsibility for the deterioration of conditions, and criticizing those who cooperate with him. These are led, of course, by Prime Minister al-Huss.

But then came President Sarkis' message to the Lebanese, which included the regime's concept of the principles of a national accord. Karami used this as an opportunity to turn around. He declared his absolute support for the principles announced by Sarkis and his complete readiness to support the course of accord and mutual understanding and to start a dialogue with all Lebanese factions, aimed at unifying the Lebanese ranks.

The observer does not need much intelligence to understand that Karmal's new position is connected with preparing him for the new government, especially since Mr Rashid considers himself to have first right to share power with President Sarkis, by virtue of the fact he is one of the pillars of the Shihabi school (reference to the late president Shihab) to which Sarkis belongs.

The most active and hopeful of the candidates for prime minister is Taqi al-Din al-Sulh. He considers himself everyone's friend both at home and abroad. He was not involved in the Lebanese war, nor in its aftermath. It was attributed to him recently that he is confident of returning to the premiership, because he will be the compromise candidate when the battle for the post intensified and the hour of selection comes.

Dr Sa'ib al-Jarudi holds the post of chairman of the board of the Kuwait Development Bank. Informed persons say that selecting him would be the last card played by the regime, in the event it finds it impossible to choose a new prime minister from among the stronger politicians, and in the event Dr Salim al-Huss insists on retirement and returning to independent work.

7005
CSO: 4802

ARAB ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 15 Apr 80 p 6

[Article: "Arab League Representative to AL-SAFIR: 'I Felt Arab Readiness to Pay Assistance; Lebanese Government Must Pursue the Matter.'"]

[Text] The secretary general of the Arab League's representative on the Oversight Committee, Hammadi al-Sayd, said that the subject of Arab financial assistance earmarked for Lebanon at the Tunis summit requires official Lebanese action. There are no Arab ambiguities about it.

He added yesterday, in the context of his reply to AL-SAFIR's question, that the Arab tour which he took with Arab League Secretary General Chedli Kalibi had positive results with respect to the assistance. "We saw near unanimous agreement in the countries we visited to carry out their obligations," he said.

Al-Sayd continued: "Iraq and the United Arab Emirates have paid their shares of the assistance. I was informed by the Amir of Qatar of his determination to carry out a similar step. Furthermore, Kuwait has issued payment orders to the Kuwaiti organizations concerned."

The Arab League representative went on to say: "The Libyan president, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, told me personally that Libya has no reservations about paying its share of the assistance."

Regarding the Arab League secretariat general's role in collecting the assistance determined for Lebanon, al-Sayd said: "We, as an Arab league, cannot take daily action for this purpose. The Lebanese Government has to pursue this matter. Of course, the Arab League is prepared to assume any role requested of its in this sphere, because the principle has been approved."

As to whether the \$19 million, which Lebanon received from Iraq last month, would be part of Iraq's share of the Arab assistance, or a separate assistance, al-Sayd said: "As we understand it, it is part of Iraq's share."

The amount in question, sent to the Bank of Lebanon to the account of the ministry of labor and social affairs, had prompted an official inquiry from the Lebanese Government to the Iraqi authorities, to learn whether it was part of Iraq's share of the Arab assistance, or was specifically for the ministry of labor and social affairs. The assistance decision adopted at the Arab summit, allows the Lebanese Government to select areas in which to spend the assistance. The total amounts to a billion dollars paid over a 5-year period, one half of it for the south.

It is worth mentioning that Lebanese Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Nazim al-Qadri told AL-SAFIR that the \$19 million arrived after he had made contacts to prepare for the conference of Arab ministers of labor and social affairs on specific issues of aid, separate from other assistance which Iraq would be offering within the Arab assistance decided on at the Tunis summit.

7005

CSO: 4802

HOUSING BANK SITUATION DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 14-20 Apr 80 pp 34-35

[Interview with Vlado Khlat, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Lebanese Housing Bank, by 'Adnan Al-Hajj, date not given]

[Text] The Lebanese Housing Bank is looking for additional sources of financing so that it can continue loan operations, now that its capital of 50 million pounds is about to be depleted. The chairman of the bank's board of directors, Vlado Khlat, and the director general of the National Fund for Social Insurance, Dr Ridha Wahid, met with the governor of the Bank of Lebanon, Shaykh Michel Khuri, and the minister of finance, Dr 'Ali al-Khalil, in an attempt to obtain funds from the mandatory reserves of commercial banks, which are deposited with the Central Bank at low interest. The Housing Bank grants long-term loans at 8 percent interest.

Funds so far paid out in loans by the Housing Bank have amounted to 30 million pounds, involving some 300 loans for the purchase and construction of homes in the capital and neighboring areas. Vlado Khlat, the bank's chairman of the board, answered AL-DUSTUR's questions about the bank's work and the reasons which caused it to raise the interest rate from 6 to 8 percent on loans granted.

He said that the bank has contacts under way with the ministry of housing and cooperatives in an attempt to obtain a loan of approximately 50 million pounds, particularly since the bank's capital will be depleted within the next 2 months. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] What is the nature of the bank's work? What are its goals?

[Answer] For the first time in Lebanon, a unique and specialized institution exists whose goal is to help Lebanese citizens, within specific conditions required for the continuation of the bank's work, to acquire private housing, or, rather, to become a property owner.

The state, well aware that an acute crisis existed in expansion, undertook to alleviate this social "wound" by making room for every tenant citizen to become the owner of the house in which he lives. Thus, a large part of this thorny housing problem would be solved.

Out of a desire to eliminate mistakes to which any state organization can be exposed, the Housing Bank undertook to get the private sector to participate in a balanced and beneficial way through its expertise, enthusiasm, and diverse means.

[Question] It is said that the Housing Bank, through its credit system, offered loans to one specific social group at the expense of other groups. What is the background of this "accusation?" Does the credit system include all Lebanese segments?

[Answer] We have said repeatedly, and will state again, that the Housing Bank was created for all Lebanese classes, without exception, provided that the loan applicant has the potential equal to his commitments to the bank. During the 10 months of actual work, and despite all the difficulties of our current situation, all Lebanese segments, without distinction, have so far benefited from our loans and services.

[Question] What are the conditions for credit from the Housing Bank?

[Answer] The conditions for credit use from the Housing Bank are easy and logical. We loan 60 to 70 percent of the value of the house to be purchased. In exchange, we acquire property insurance on this house. We also request a life insurance and permanent disability policy. Does surrounding the granting of a loan with legal guarantees, sufficient to ensure the Housing Bank's continuing in its social and humanitarian mission, mean imposing preposterous conditions?

[Question] How is the value of credit loans granted to citizens distributed, and on what basis?

[Answer] Despite the fact that we have previously answered this question in principle, we should add that any citizen can obtain a loan from the bank, provided that he is of Lebanese nationality, that he has not committed an important crime, that he is not the owner of a house within a distance of 20 kms from his job, and that he has not benefited previously from any housing project. As for the value of the loan, it is limited with respect to the applicant's income. The monthly installment [for repayment of the loan] must not exceed one-third the applicant's income. We also take into account the loan applicant's background and his record in honoring his commitments.

Because the bank is a joint-stock corporation subject to regulatory laws, the amount of the advance from the lende must be in protection of his equity.

[Question] We have heard that the Housing Bank intends to carry out housing projects in certain Lebanese areas, in a mutual agreement with some firms, which are not intended for investment profit. What is the truth of that, and have you initiated the implementation of these projects?

[Answer] It is clear, in our line of work, that all participation in some project or other meets with our approval, on condition that the size of the house be small and that the cost of the dwelling unit be small as well.

This is so as to benefit the largest possible number of citizens with limited income. Finally, we welcome every housing project by cooperatives and companies that are engaged in this business. In fact, several projects in this field have been submitted to us; they are under study.

[Question] Is there planning and program coordination between you and the ministry of housing?

[Answer] The first principle, with respect to our relations with the ministry of housing, is to follow the housing policy which the state adopts.

Therefore, it is natural that all cooperation, no matter how limited or restricted, adds to these relations between the housing ministry and the Housing Bank.

It can be truthfully said that this coordination is beneficial to the same extent that it is profitable, especially since at the head of the housing ministry today is a specialist who is capable in the housing field.

[Question] What financial and banking organizations and institutions participate in financing the bank's projects?

[Answer] None, so far. As you know, there are a large number of important banks and large insurance institutions which are participating, and some individuals who form the board of directors. As we mentioned previously, they offer us their expertise and success in this domain.

[Question] What are the conditions which allow the bank to seize the building purchased on the basis of a loan granted?

[Answer] We get around a part of this negative problem, in the beginning of the loan transaction, when we compel the lendee to have life and permanent disability insurance. As regards nonpayment of monthly installments on their due dates, being arrears in payment of two consecutive or three nonconsecutive payments causes the loan, at that time, to be due immediately, without any judicial or non-judicial proceeding. So far, we know that our notes are paid regularly on their specific dates. This is proof, and we hope, in the future, not to have to resort to sale at public auction.

[Question] We know that you raised the interest rate on loans. To what percentage was this interest raised, and does this step have a negative effect in terms of procedure on applications submitted for credit and on the amount of the loans?

[Answer] We have actually been forced to raise the interest rate from 6 to 8 percent. This matter was decided as a result of the dreadful inflation recorded in local and world money markets. In addition to that, there are administrative expenses which are, in turn, constantly going up, consequently, have shared in raising the interest rate.

The bank's working guide, published in decree number 1,380 dated 16/6/1978, determines the interest rate every 6 months, so that the bank can insure its expenses, in addition to an adequate profit not to exceed 1 1/2 percent on all its sources of income.

The bank can, on the other hand, make loans at interest rates fluctuating in regard to income interest.

We hope that the bank, through its board of directors--and we are doing our best to attain this goal--will be able to find sources of funds which will permit us, not only to return to the old interest rate, but also improve it by reducing it even further.

7005

CSO: 4802

BRIEFS

AFRICAN-LIBYAN RELATIONS--Colonel Qadhafi "leader of the Libyan revolution" on the 25th of May severely criticized the former French African nations that meet every year under the aegis of France. He threatened to close their embassies in Tripoli "letting the French Embassy represent them." Speaking to the ambassadors and the African liberation movements in Tripoli on the occasion of Africa Day Colonel Qadhafi said: "The annual meeting of these former French countries—which has become traditional--under the wing of the French president is a disgrace to Africans who cannot consider these countries to have truly achieved independence." After affirming that the sole aim of "imperialism is to loot Africa and perpetuate the master-slave relationship" Colonel Qadhafi added: "If these former French African countries continue to meet under French leadership the Libyan people will consider ceasing economic aid to them and the closing of their embassies in Tripoli, and they will consider the French Embassy as their spokesman." Colonel Qadhafi nevertheless hailed the retreat of French troops from Chad, while deplored that they are still stationed in adjacent countries which "permits their return to Chad if the civil war drags on." "If we are officially asked Libya will strive to re-establish peace in Chad, and we have the means." [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 27 May 80 p 6]

CSO: 4800

ASSEMBLY APPROVES RENT RATE AFTER DEBATE

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 3-4 May 80 p 2

[Text] The debates in the Chamber of Representatives on the draft bill concerning the organization on the contractual relationships between landlords and tenants ended on Wednesday.

This draft bill was adopted by 59 votes (Independents and Party of Progress and Socialism) and 9 abstentions (Popular Movement). It includes 26 articles divided into 5 chapters.

Last Monday the Chamber of Representatives had held a session during which it adopted the second article of this draft with the amendment introduced by member Abdelhamid Kacimi (Independent) with a majority of 75 votes against 13 and 10 abstentions.

This article stipulates that the rent of residential or business premises will be determined by the free consent of owners and tenants. The second paragraph specifies that the tenant has the right, within 3 months after signing the lease, to demand in court the revision of the amount of the rent if the latter seems excessive.

During this very session, the Chamber of Representatives had put to vote draft amendments of this second article presented by the members. Thus the proposal by member Ali Yata was rejected by 64 votes against 18 with 7 abstentions. The Chamber also rejected the amendment presented by the member Abdelwahed Radi by 64 votes against 13 with 11 abstentions. The amendment put forward by the member Abdelhamid Kacimi was adopted by 64 votes against 13 with 11 abstentions.

Monday's session was marked by the intervention of several members. The members Fathallah Oualalou, Mohamed Deboagh, Mohamed Bensaïd, Abdelkader Lofti and Abdelwahed Radi of the Ittihadia Opposition reaffirmed the need for limiting the amount of rents to safeguard the rights of the most destitute social strata.

For his part, member Ali Yata intervened on three occasions, asking for his proposal to fix rents be discussed by the Chamber.

In the name of the Parliamentary Group Authenticite marocaine et de la Justice [Party for Moroccan Authenticity and Justice], Mr Mohamed Khattabi explained in his intervention that the bill on rents is related to the problem of accomodation and that was why his party would abstain from voting on the draft bill.

As for the Independent Parliamentary Party, the members Abdelwahed Benmasoud and El Mehdi Achergui emphasized the positive aspects of this bill, stressing that it conforms to the principle of the freedom of contracts while providing restraining clauses for tenant and landlord.

The minister in charge of the relations with the Parliament, Mr Mohamed Haddou Ech-Chiguer mentioned that the amendments of the members Fathallah Oualalou and Mohamed Debbagh are not really amendments, since they represent new bill proposals. He added that in accordance with Article 56 of the Constitution, the government opposes these amendments, while it retains, on the other hand, the one of the member Abdelhamid Kacimi.

The Minister of Housing and Organization of the Territory spoke to explain the reasons which led the government to presenting this draft bill, specifying in particular, that the question of rents is a problem related to the housing policy and that the government is sensitive to the suggestions put forward by the members.

He said that pending the solution of the housing problem in general, the government decided to organize the relationships between landlords and tenants with a view to protecting the latter. Since it was an idea of the third party the object of a proposal from the Ittihadia Opposition, the minister indicated that experience proved the lack of efficacy of such a method, particularly since the evaluation commissions have no experts to determine the value of the premises for rent.

He recalled that the statistics obtained in 1971 showed that the landlords and tenants are of the middle class and that the studies for the master plan of the Medina de Fes showed that in two thirds of the cases, the landlords live with the tenants.

During last Tuesday's session, the Chamber adopted 11 articles of the draft bill. At the beginning of the session, the member Mohammed Debbagh spoke to express his Party's opposition to Article 3. This article stipulates that over and above the rent, the tenant is liable to reimburse to the landlord, presentation of supporting documents, services and supplies relating to the use of the rented premises or to settle the lump sum of rent charges such as listed on the regulations in force; failing agreement, this amount may be fixed by the judge.

Then the Chamber examined Article 6 which was suppressed by the Parliamentary Commission of Justice, legislation, and public service. After the

intervention of Messrs Mohamed Bensaïd (Ittihadia Opposition) and Abdelwahed Benmasoud (Independent), the Chamber approved the suppression of this article.

The next articles were adopted without discussion while the amendments concerning them presented by the Opposition were rejected. During the general debate which preceded the vote on the whole draft bill, the Minister of Housing and Organization of the Territory spoke in the name of the government to thank the members of the Chamber and to emphasize the importance of this bill which, although it does not solve the housing problem, will contribute at least to the organization of relationships between landlords and the tenants, while protecting the latter from all abuses. After mentioning that the Three-Year Plan had achieved the objectives sought in the matter of housing and reduced the housing shortage, he specified that the war effort imposed on Morocco had been a heavy burden for the social objectives.

9018
CSO: 4400

MOROCCO

PROSPECTS FOR TRADE WITH BRAZIL DISCUSSED

Rabat L'OPINION in French 4 May 80 p 2

[Article by Nadia Salah]

[Text] At present the exchanges between Morocco and Brazil are of anarchic and haphazardous nature: 4,000 DH canned sauerkraut against 120 square meters of carpet, 3,000 DH pineapple juice for plastic dolls, etc.

The bulk of the trade remains of the type which may exist between two poor underdeveloped countries, whereas Morocco, though not a "new industrial nation" can offer and demand much more than it does in fact.

With 0.86 percent of the total Moroccan imports, Brazil is 21st on our list of suppliers, very far behind old industrialized countries. It is 17th on our list of customers, absorbing 1.10 percent of our exports. In 1978, Morocco's purchases amounted to 106 million DH, and its sales to Brazil came to 68 million DH. The net result of the trade balance is therefore a deficit of 37 Million DH. There is nothing to permit the hope of restoring the balance, unless both parties decide to establish a more dynamic and more balanced trade policy. However we must stop leaving this to chance.

Most of the Moroccan sales concern crude phosphate (47,653 million DH). The second product exported to the Brazilian economy is phosphoric acid, which brings in 20.95 million DH. Brazil will no doubt need enormous quantities of phosphates in the coming years, if only to maintain forests and sugar cane plantations, which represent the main sectors of its energy plan (see opposite). Morocco might find there an interesting possibility for markets, the more so as Brazilian agriculture is the weak point of the economy. The extensive agriculture, based on archaic social structures will no doubt be the object of priority sectors of Brasilia planners. Well, it is a well-known fact that intensive agriculture is impossible without phosphate...Morocco should not be indifferent to the social and technical restructurization which the Brazilian primary sector must undergo.

There is now talk of "South-South cooperation" understanding by this the creation of all types of bonds between Third World countries. If they so desired

Morocco and Brazil could go well beyond exchange of phosphates for tobacco, pepper and coffee. Brasilia is the greatest suppliers of spices to Morocco, with 23.5 million DH per year, that is, a little over a half of the imported spices. Besides pepper, Morocco buys two thirds of its peppers and one tenth of its cloves from Brazil. The latter is the third greatest supplier of non roasted coffee, after Indonesia and Zaire. It sells us 6 percent of our total consumption. In 1978, a quarter of the imported tobacco came from Brazil, but unlike the imports from Europe or the United States, tobacco arrives in a crude state from Brazil (3.5 million tons) and is processed in Morocco to give cigars and cigarettes. Brazilian tobacco represents a little over one third of the crude tobacco we receive.

The remaining imports are distributed over all types of products, but in small amounts, which do not always make up a million DH. Now Brazil offers a whole range of industrial equipment, from the sewing machine (with separate parts) to the military reconnaissance aircraft. The Brazilian companies who operate under license themselves rarely impose political or commercial conditions for their sales.

But what should really arouse enthusiasm among the Moroccan experts is Brazil's energy plan. We have already or are on the way to having the same agricultural conditions as the Brazilians: the sugar plan provides for self-sufficiency in 20 years; one of the by-products of sugar (especially the sugar cane whose production is in the process of generalization) may technically be recycled and furnish energy. We refer to molasses which Morocco is exporting in part to Europe. Well, Brazil uses molasses to produce methanol and is seriously contemplating the substitution of gas by the latter.

Likewise after independence we made a very great effort to acclimatize the eucalyptus to stop erosion and desert extension. The Brazilians have made more or less the same work, not for purposes of post colonial reforestation, but to produce methanol from eucalyptus forests.

Why should we not take advantage of their experience since we have the same problem as they do in the sector of petroleum energy?

But to deal with the Brazilians, we would have to change our habits. When doing business with a banker or an industrialist, we first discuss prices, insurance and schedules, for them a business trip is first business, then a trip, etc...

Although in our country it is often believed that youth is synonymous with incompetence, it is the other way round in their country and we must get used to dealing with men and women hardly 35 years old.

But it is in the matter of payments we have most to learn from Brazil. Even though it is the Third World country with the highest debt, Brazil makes it a point of honor settle its bills on due date both for public and private payments, in spite of a finicky administration.

MOROCCO

PHOSPHATES EXPORT FIGURES FOR THE PAST YEAR

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 2 May 80 p 1

[Text] A minister announced recently that the income from phosphates had dropped by 9 percent. Actually according to the foreign trade statistics taking into account the foreign exchange imports, and not the exports effectively taking place, the decrease would only be 7.6 percent.

On the other hand, the statistics published by the Mines Board are more specific, and the exported volume reached 17,867,500 tons, representing a value of 2,460.6 million Dirhams (DH). The sales on the local market came to 233,000 tons for a value of 164.6 million DH.

The total number of tons sold and practically exported, since much of the phosphates delivered to the local industry is exported in the form of sulfuric acid and fertilizers was therefore 20,100,000 tons, worth 2,625 million DH.

It is interesting to emphasize that the circumstances have improved for 1980: the dollar has indeed recovered very clearly as compared with last year and the phosphate rates are on the rise, reaching 41 dollars per ton a few weeks ago.

These are the export figures for last year:

--Spain	2,823,000 tons
--France	2,555,000 tons
--Belgium	1,471,000 tons
--Poland	1,126,000 tons
--Holland	935,000 tons
--United States	862,000 tons
--Italy	858,000 tons
--Great Britain	848,000 tons
--Mexico	787,000 tons
--Romania	654,000 tons
--Japan	613,000 tons
--Bulgaria	589,000 tons
--Sweden	436,000 tons
--India	432,000 tons

--Portugal	367,000 tons
--Germany	341,000 tons
--Czechoslovakia	286,000 tons
--Brazil	271,000 tons
--Yugoslavia	240,000 tons
--GDR	235,000 tons
--Turkey	209,000 tons
--Greece	197,000 tons
--Denmark	193,000 tons
--China	168,000 tons
--Finland	151,000 tons
--Ireland	86,000 tons
--Iran	84,000 tons
--Venezuela	81,000 tons
--Bangladesh	59,000 tons
--Norway	58,000 tons
--Hungary	54,000 tons
--Switzerland	8,000 tons
--Austria	4,000 tons

The most remarkable fact is the progress of the United States which has become the sixth client of the OCP [expansion unknown].

9018
CSO: 4400

MOROCCO

BRIEFS

EUROPEAN BANK LOAN--The Banque Europeenne d'Investissement (BEI) granted a total loan of 5 million EEC Unit of Account (1UC = 5.84 French francs or \$1.3) as contribution to the development of the Moroccan industrial sector, according to an announcement in Brussels yesterday in a communique of the BEI. This loan was approved for the Office of Industrial Development (ODI) and will finance shares (chosen with the approval of BEI) in small and medium scale enterprises of the industrial sector. This aid granted in the framework of the financial protocol signed between the European Community and Morocco on 27 April 1976 assumed the form of a conditional loan approved initially over a maximum period of 25 years at a rate of 2 percent. This loan will be made from the EEC budget resources for loans in special conditions and operations on high risk capitals, managed by BEI on Community mandate. It represents BEI's second intervention in Morocco: a first aid of 40 million UC had been granted in June 1979 towards the construction of the mineral port of Jorf Lasfar. [Text] [Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 1 May 80 p 1] 9018

ASSETS REGULATION--A question put by Mr Jean-Claude Gandin, lodged with the French National Assembly drew the attention of the French minister of foreign affairs on the anomalies represented by the blocking of French assets in Morocco. Indeed, he stated that while Moroccans working in France are permitted to transfer to their country all that they earn, the French who had worked in Morocco had their assets frozen without possible recourse. What measures would the government take so that the international law of reciprocity be no longer violated, and that too by a friendly country? In his answer, the French minister of Foreign Affairs asserted that the situation mentioned by the honorary member of Parliament on the blocked assets in Morocco were the object of many interventions by our embassy and our consulates for the purpose of obtaining a relaxation in the exchange regulations. It was possible to achieve certain non negligible results including the release of pending accounts of less than 5,000 dirhams, and facilities granted to convert pending accounts into capital accounts, transferable for certain investments. Efforts were being pursued both in Rabat and Paris to obtain further relaxation of Moroccan regulations in favor of our compatriots. [Text] [Rabat L'OPINION in French 3 May 80 p 1] 9018

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

FOREIGN MINISTER ATTACKS U.S., DEFENDS SOVIET UNION

Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 17 Feb 80 pp 1, 16

[Article: "PDRY Foreign Minister talks to AL-NIDA': 'America Alone Threatens the Gulf. The Peoples' Victories Have Made American Policy Lose Its Nerve'"]

[Text] In a private interview with AL-NIDA', Comrade Salim Salih Muhammad, the candidate for membership of the Political office of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and Foreign Minister, declared that American imperialism's awareness of the collapse of its supremacy in the world is behind the current hostile American campaigns in the Middle East, Asia, and the international domain.

Comrade Salih said that the victory of the Afghan people "has annoyed America and the reactionary circles which support her, and ended her hopes of bringing Afghanistan back into the fold of imperialism and reaction."

He asserted that America was today exerting "all her efforts to impose the treacherous Camp David Agreement. She is the leader of an accord that is hostile to the Arab nation. Therefore, America and her allies Israel and al-Sadat, are the enemies of our Arab peoples, the enemies of our freedom and progress, not the friendly Soviet Union.

The PDRY foreign minister criticized America's open intervention in the Arab Gulf area, and said that the only danger threatening this area was "the constant threat of military intervention by America."

He asserted that American imperialism's threats against Iran "expose the American imperialist mentality, which could not hide its ugly character, in spite of a thick screen of deceptive slogans."

After the Yemeni minister condemned the cold war policy pursued by the Carter Administration, he criticized Israeli attacks, in cooperation with other Camp David parties, on Lebanon. He asserted that the PDRY supported

the struggle of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, and he said: "the continued firmness of the common fighting attitude of our peoples in Lebanon and Palestine is a guarantee that the plots and intrigues of America, Israel and al-Sadat will be frustrated."

Here is the interview:

[Question] What is your view of the current American campaign under the smokescreen of Islam and of what is called the "normalization" of Israeli-Egyptian relations, and how does the PDRY think that this campaign can be counteracted?

[Answer] The great awakening and widespread unrest of the Arab peoples, and the intensification of their zeal to counter world imperialism, in order to end its influence and offensive exploitation of the peoples of the area, have been the cause of deep anxiety to imperialism. Imperialism has begun to realize that the decline of imperialist power and hegemony and the Arab peoples' recovery of their rights and elimination of the ugly exploitation of their riches, are inevitable. It is only a question of time and nothing else. Because of the mentality of supremacy, looting and exploitation which governs imperialist activity, imperialism refuses to acknowledge the peoples' rights to freedom and progress, or to end imperialist exploitation and monopoly. Therefore, imperialism is today doing its utmost to intensify tension, not only in our Arab area, but in the whole world, by creating problems in various parts of the world so as to find excuses for intervention, establishment of military bases, and intensification of its military presence in its various forms. The object is to enable imperialism to suppress the aspirations of peoples craving freedom and progress, and their struggle to stop the continuous pillage of their resources. Imperialism might thus be in a position to protect its interests in the Arab homeland and the world at large.

America Is Trying To Distort the Afghan Victory

America has been aiming at deliberately distorting the victory which the Afghan people have achieved under the leadership of the fighting Afghan People's Party, against the interventions of the forces of imperialism and reaction opposed to the revolution. The great victory which the people of Afghanistan have achieved was effected by the will of its masses, who were longing for progress and for a better life with the help of the Soviet Union. The latter is faithful to peoples struggling against all kinds of oppression and persecution which the forces of imperialism and reaction practice. That victory has angered America and the reactionary circles which support her, and it has put an end to her hopes of taking Afghanistan back into the fold of imperialism and back into the past ages of feudalism and backwardness. Therefore, America has been feverishly active in order to distort the facts, and has been working to arouse the forces of reaction. She has exerted great pressures with the object of opposing and combating the Afghan revolution, and slandering the reputation of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Bloc and progressive nationalist countries in the whole world.

America has used various feeble pretexts, sometimes suggesting that Islam is threatened by the Soviet Union, and, at other times, saying that the area, specifically the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, are threatened by a Soviet invasion. All this was for the purpose of convincing the countries of the area to allow America to establish military bases in order to protect her interests, not from the danger of the intervention of the Soviet Union, but from the peoples' struggle. In addition, America believes that by this ploy she can pull what al-Sadat's regime has failed to accomplish. America, which is raising the slogan of the defense of Islam, is the enemy of our peoples and their civilized and cultural heritage. The clearest indication is the continuing support of Israel, which has profaned Islam's holiest shrines in Palestine, especially sacred Jerusalem.

Victories of the Peoples and of the Soviet Union.

Whenever America persists in arousing hostility to the Soviet Union, she is trying to create the illusion that the struggles in which the peoples are engaged are manufactured by the Soviet Union, and not due to the extreme incompatibilities between the interests of our oppressed peoples and imperialist pillage. Such American effort also has political, economic and military aims, specifically to frighten the Arab states, and the developing countries, and convince them that the source of danger is the Soviet Union, in order that they may stay under the American umbrella.

They [the Americans] are also aiming at raising a material and a mental barrier between the progressive peoples and states, and triumphant socialism, but these aims will not meet with success, and the new American game will not deceive the peoples.

Peoples have known, for example, that the victory of the Iranian people's struggle has been against the Americans, and not against the Soviet Union. The whole world knows that it was America which killed thousands of people in Vietnam, and knows that America is the supporter of Israel and refuses to recognize the most basic rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. It is America which supports the racist regimes and backs them in Africa, and supports all the other dictatorial and reactionary regimes. Also, America is today exerting all her efforts to impose the treacherous Camp David agreements, which prejudice the rights of our struggling Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. Today, she is the head of an alliance which is hostile to the Arab nation. Therefore, America and her allies Israel and al-Sadat are the enemies of our Arab peoples and of our freedom and progress, not the friendly Soviet Union.

All this makes it necessary to mobilize the energies of the Arab nation and its patriotic and progressive forces in order to face the impending danger which threatens them from the true enemy, America, Israel and al-Sadat. We in the PDRY still believe that the practical application of

the Baghdad and Tunis summit resolutions will create a favorable basis for the Arab struggle directed against America, Israel and al-Sadat.

[Question] What is your attitude toward Washington's announcement that the Gulf is subject to American influence, and the American threats to intervene in it?

[Answer] In our opinion, America's declaration that the Gulf Area is to be considered subject to American influence, and that America will intervene militarily in the Gulf, should be considered the most offensive kind of violation of international practices and laws, and a barefaced and unacceptable intervention in the affairs of the states of the area. The area of the Gulf and the Peninsula is an Arab area, and it consists of sovereign independent states. They have the absolute right to manage their own affairs and to defend themselves. As a number of our brothers among the leaders of the Peninsula and Gulf sister-states declare, no dangers of foreign intervention threaten the Peninsula and the Gulf. Even America herself, in the declaration that she will take action to help the Gulf and the Peninsula, contradicts herself when she announces that the area of the Gulf and the Peninsula is an area of American influence and that she is ready to defend the area. No one threatens to intervene militarily in the area except America. No one is trying to establish hostile military bases which threaten the security and safety of the area's peoples, except America. No one says that the area is subject to influence as if our peoples were colonized, except America. And no one is procrastinating about the independence, sovereignty and respect of the area's peoples, except America.

Consequently, the source of the danger which threatens the sovereignty, independence and respect of the area's peoples is the continuous threat of military intervention by America. It is she who is planting hostile military bases. And it is she who is moving nuclear fleets about the Gulf and the Arabian Sea, endangering the security of the area.

All this is for the defense of America's vast oil interests in the area, not from the alleged danger of foreign intervention, but in order to suppress our Arab peoples' struggle to control their resources and insure an independent course of action.

[Question] What is the situation of Iran in the context of these American threats, and what is the PDRY's attitude toward the American threats directed especially against Iran?

[Answer] The great Iranian people taught America and her agents a lesson which will not be forgotten, when they achieved their surprising victory in putting an end to the fiercest of the reactionary strongholds in the area, to which America had entrusted the role of policeman, in order to suppress the aspirations and struggle of the area's peoples. Iran's pursuit of her combative policy against all forms of American influence

and supremacy, and for the Iranian people's control of their fortunes which imperialist monopolies have stolen, has the support of the Iranian people of all parties, sects and classes. It also has the support, respect and sympathy of the majority of the world's states and peoples which oppose imperialism, led by the progressive and patriotic states in the whole world.

American imperialism's threats of military intervention against Iran firstly, then its threat to impose an economic blockade on Iran secondly, expose the American colonialist mentality which has been unable to hide its base character, in spite of the thick smokescreen of false slogans and political claims which America is putting out. But the struggle of the Iranian people and their government against American influence, and the support for Iran of the world's peoples, led by the progressive and patriotic states, is a guarantee that America's aims and evil intentions toward the Iranian people will be frustrated.

[Question] It appears that the American administration has returned to the pursuit of the policy of the cold war on the world level, and to push international relations into a state of continuous tension. What is it that is governing this American policy, in your opinion?

[Answer] American foreign policy has suffered major defeats during the past period. The international community has taught America unforgettable lessons in respect of the peoples' desire for progress and liberation. America's foreign policy is founded on the basis of complete hostility to peoples, and, therefore, it has earned a large measure of hostility, in the world as a whole.

Therefore, the imperialist circles are trying today, in a frantic manner, to regain the respect which they have lost forever, embarking on a dangerous road which threatens the security and safety of the world as a whole. America is trying to stir up centers of tension and to establish military bases in different areas of the world. She is moving her fleets and airplanes in order to threaten the security and safety of peoples, and is dispersing nuclear missiles in Europe by force, in spite of the opposition of the peoples of the states of Europe. She is plotting against the sovereignty and independence of countries, is resisting liberation movements, and is trying to strain their relations with the Socialist Bloc.

Thereby, America is threatening all the achievements which the international community has accomplished in producing conditions most favorable for applying the principles of peace, relaxation and peaceful coexistence among the peoples and states of the world which have different social systems.

The rule of the principles of peaceful coexistence and international relaxation, in the relations between peoples and countries during the past period, and the insistence of the world's peoples as a whole on the necessity of living in peace, has created excellent opportunities for all peoples

to endeavor to build up their independent social and economic progress. It has also created more favorable conditions for peoples to establish relations on an equal footing and exchange benefits. More than that, the realization of peaceful coexistence and international relaxation has weakened the imperialist hegemony to a great degree, and it has afforded widespread scope for peoples' desire for liberation from imperialist oppression and building their best future.

Therefore, America is embarking on her new policy, which is aimed at opening a new phase of the cold war in international relations. She realizes that raising tension in the world helps her to attack peoples' sovereignty and independence, and to safeguard the interests of her monopolies.

The peace-loving states and peoples will strive steadfastly to prevent imperialism from persevering in its policy aimed at taking the world back to the cold war period. This is especially so, in view of an objective fact of which imperialism is aware, namely that imperialism is no longer the maker and author of final decisions regarding peoples, ever since the sun of the glorious October Revolution rose over our globe.

[Question] How do you view the incessant Israeli attacks on Lebanon and the Palestinian people, and the connection of these attacks with the Camp David settlement? And what is your evaluation of the Lebanese and Palestinian national position?

[Answer] The chief aim of American imperialism, Israel and al-Sadat regarding the Palestine Question is to put into effect the treacherous Camp David agreements, which have abrogated all the rights of our Palestinian people, and have sanctified the Zionist entity at the expense of the rights of our Palestinian Arab people and other Arab peoples. Imperialism, Israel and al-Sadat are engaging in various wiles and intrigues to realize this aim. The schemes of the United States, Israel and al-Sadat have been aimed at attacking the Palestinian resistance and putting an end to it. In the scheme of these circles, this is an initial and necessary step in order to carry through their plan. In addition, that reactionary alliance of imperialism, Zionism and al-Sadat is trying to put an end to the Arab liberation movement and to the patriotic and progressive regimes which are the real support of the Palestinian revolution.

The attitude of the U.S. toward the Palestinian question is one of the weak links in the overall imperialist plan in the area, since there is a complete contradiction between America's hostile attitude toward the Arab struggle regarding the recovery of our Palestinian people's legitimate rights, and the U.S.'s desire to compel the Arabs to preserve America's vast interests in the Arab area. While America supports Israel, she refuses to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and of all the Arabs, and wants to continue her looting of Arab oil. That, is the highest degree of recklessness and inconsistency.

The Palestine question is one of the most important factors which induce all Arabs to be vigilant, oppose America, and put an end to her interests. This is in view of the policy of offensive exploitation of Arab wealth which America is pursuing, and in view of the American positions which are hostile to the Arab nation's aspirations that the people of Palestine should recover all their rights and that the Arab nation should achieve development and progress through a course independent of imperialist influence.

Therefore, the Israeli attacks on South Lebanon are practical steps with the aim of putting an end to the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese patriotic movement, as an important precondition for implementing the Camp David Agreements. This is so, because as long as the resistance continues to fight against Israel and imperialism, America, Israel and al-Sadat cannot impose the agreements of treachery and surrender.

For our party, we back and support the Palestinian people's struggle with all our modest capabilities and without reserve. We consider the Palestine question to be the central cause of the Arabs, which unites the Arab nation against America, Israel and al-Sadat, the real enemies of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

Therefore, we maintain the strongest relations with the resistance, the Patriotic Movement in Lebanon and the brotherly Lebanese people. We have a high regard for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' fortitude in resisting the villainous Israeli attacks on South Lebanon. This fighting solidarity between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples has had a potent effect in frustrating the plans of America, Israel and al-Sadat to create discord between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, so as to strike the struggles of both. Therefore, we think that continued firmness of the common fighting attitude of our two Arab peoples in Lebanon and Palestine will bring about the defeat of the plots and intrigues of America, Israel and al-Sadat.

9579
CSO: 4802

ROLE OF ROYAL FAMILY IN DECISION MAKING STUDIED

Bonn DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT in German Apr 80 pp 349-353

[Article by Zehra Oender: "Decision Making Processes in the Saudi Arabian System: The 'Royal Family's' Role"]

[Text] Since 1973 Saudi Arabia has assumed an increasingly active role in world politics. The oil weapon, the accumulation of capital, oil production and oil price politics created the necessary base. Saudi Arabia dominates political and economic events in the Middle and Near East (such as the current boycott of Egypt). Much the same holds true for the Islamic countries of Asia and Africa, such as Pakistan or the Sudan. For the Euro-American countries also Saudi Arabian economic power has made the country a worthy partner in economic and social affairs. World Bank decisions, for instance, can no longer be taken without consulting Saudi Arabia. The country has risen to the status of a world power at a notably fast rate. Decision making processes in Saudi Arabia therefore assume eminent importance for the international system, although this fact has not yet penetrated the consciousness of world public opinion.

Saudi Arabia's socioeconomic development permitted the diversification of its social structure. The traditional elite was soon confronted by a modern elite which had largely been educated in the West. The gradual shift from traditional to modern education permeated all politico-economic sectors of the country. This applies to the "royal family" also. Still, thanks to its prestige in a country ruled by Islam, the power of the traditional aristocracy has been maintained, especially because the "royal family" with its far-flung links remained at the head of the upper stratum, acting as a stabilizing element. The following groups must also be included in the upper stratum: Influential clan leaders such as the "al-Shaykh" (descended from Abdul Wahhab), the "Yiluwi" or "Sudeiri," large landowners, the religious and military leaders as well as influential and wealthy businessmen who have assumed the lifestyle of the upper class. An intensive interaction is proceeding between the upper and upper middle strata. They are not competitors. The dominance of the "royal family" and the upper stratum is accepted. This is due not least to the fact that parties and similar organizations are banned in Saudi Arabia. However, the modern elite, the "new

middle class," is recruited from the middle stratum and expanding. It is here that the future may hold a conflict potential vis-a-vis the "royal family" which keeps its distance from the upstarts and exercises absolute power over them.

However, in the West this absolutist element tends to be exaggerated, the decisions of the "royal family" personified. Western media often talk of Saudi Arabia's "strong man," arousing the impression of one-man decisions. Upon closer scrutiny this image is found to be wrong. It is due to lack of knowledge about the decision making mechanisms inherent in the Saudi Arabian system. This lack of knowledge stems mainly from the fact that outsiders cannot easily observe the dominant source of decisions, that is the "royal family," and information in this field is severely limited.

The 'Royal Family' as the Chief Source of Decision Making

The "royal family" has a direct interest in the persistence of the Saudi Arabian system. All key positions in politics, the economy and defense are in the hands of its members. Examples are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense and Aviation, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education. Regional leadership also is in the hands of princes such as Prince Salman ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saud, governor of Riyadh, or Prince Fawaz ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saud, governor of Mecca. The "royal family" thus maintains control of the entire country and is able to exert the appropriate influence in all sectors. However, the crucial function of the "royal family" consists in the choice of the king and the crown prince. The king is elected by the 3,000-strong council of princes. This power guarantees the "royal family" effective control of domestic and foreign politics. The king is responsible to the family. Only the "royal family" is able to depose him. This happened when the "royal family" forced King Saud ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saud to abdicate and appointed Crown Prince Faysal to be king.

The Power Constellation Within the 'Royal Family'

The "royal family," that is the al-Saud dynasty, has 5,000-7,000 members. Such a large "community of interests" is hard to direct and supervise. It is dominated by various political tendencies and power groups. The princes are divided into two categories: The first includes the sons of 'Abd al-Aziz, the founder of Saudi Arabia. Their prestige still rests on the fame of their father. Undiminished even at this time is the awe felt for the leader of the "ikhwān" (brothers) who helped Wahhabism and thereby the family of al-Saud to gain power. After all, it was 'Abd al-Aziz who, after centuries of fragmentation, succeeded in uniting the clans of Arabia. He thereby created the basis for modern Saudi Arabia. The second category consists of the princes of the second generation, for example the present Foreign Minister Saud al Faysal, son of murdered King Faysal. The third generation princes are also often included in this category, but in matters of exercising power and in popular esteem they are subordinated to the second generation.

The seniority principle may be observed at all levels within the "royal family." Age is important. The unbroken power of 'Abd al-Aziz' sons blocks a change of generations and, consequently, domestic and foreign political changes which might tackle fundamental issues. The 30-40 sons of 'Abd al-Aziz often organize themselves by descent, that is in accordance with their mothers clan origin.

In the course of his long life 'Abd al-Aziz married about 200 women from respected Arabian clans. Any power concentration within the "royal family" depends on the power of the clan and the numbers of sons. This is exemplified in the strength of the so-called "seven Sudeiri" whose mother belonged to the important Sudeiri clan. Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-Aziz comes from this power group. At first glance one might get the impression that the Sudeiri hold absolute power. That, however, would be a misconception. Other power groups such as the "Yiluwi" or the "al-Shayks" are in constant competition with the "seven Sudeiri" (Fahd, Sultan, 'Abd al-Rahman, Hayif, Turki, Salman, Ahmad) and quite capable of cutting in on the Sudeiri power base by means of "alliances"--whether within the "royal family" or the Saudi public at large. Often the princes of the second category are involved and mobilized in the power struggle. This may be clearly observed in the development of "seven Sudeiri" power since the death of King Faysal. Though the Sudeiri still hold most ministries, influential personalities such as Rashid Pharaon who was one of 'Abd al-Aziz' most important advisers and retained his offices after the latter's death, have joined the opposition to the Sudeiri. The Yiluwi (King Khaled and Prince 'Abdallah, deputy prime minister and head of the National Guard) together with the Faysal group (headed by Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al Faysal) have been able to achieve some success against the Sudeiri. Power has shifted. Of course political attitudes have their part in this. Conservative or reformist trends result in the corresponding groupings. Their possible realization is a matter of the majority within the "royal family."

It was a small group of princes, for example, and by no means the "new middle class" who criticized Saudi's rule in 1958 and succeeded in having more executive authority delegated to Faysal. These same princes eventually compelled Saudi to abdicate. The "royal family" tries at an early stage to recognize and harness political and socioeconomic trends in Saudi Arabian society. The events of 1960 offer a good example. At that time princes educated in the old tradition, that is no foreign educated upstarts, demanded constitutional reforms, including the election of a legislative body and restrictions on absolute rule. They and their followers, including one of 'Abd al-Aziz' youngest sons, Prince Talal, were compelled in 1962 to yield to Faysal's pressure and leave Saudi Arabia. Talal went into exile in Cairo; others sought refuge in Beirut, Damascus or Baghdad. In Cairo they established the "committee for the liberation of Saudi Arabia." Later even Faysal--presumably on the urging of the United States--was compelled to recognize the necessity of reforms in Saudi Arabia. Yet in doing so he encountered resistance from the ulemas, the religious teachers.

The 'Royal Family' and the Ulemas

The ulemas maintain a solid personal and religious union with the "royal family." They are the pillars of theocratic conditions in Saudi Arabia. Without consulting the ulemas the "royal family" is hard put to it to carry out any social measures. Violence broke out when Faysal tried to permit women access to educational institutions. Police had to protect the women from orthodox demonstrators. When carrying out his reforms Faysal was opposed not only by hostile ulemas but also by conservative princes. One prince was actually killed in a shoot-out with police; his son later assassinated Faysal.

Basically the majority of the "royal family" appreciate the necessity of reforms, because this is the only way of providing the proper conditions for industrializing the country. It is, however, dependent on the support of the traditional elite. The ulemas, for their part, are hardly interested in Saudi Arabian modernization, because such a process inevitably promotes secular trends and, in the long run, cuts into the ulemas power base.

The strength of Islam rests to a considerable extent on the ignorance of the masses: 90 percent of the population are illiterate. The conservative masses even approve the presence of a "religious police" which ensures that mosques are attended, stores closed at the hours of prayer, hairstyles and clothing correspond to traditional standards, and so on; they consider quite legitimate the compulsion exercised by the religious police. Here popular sentiment is in tune with the religious conceptions of the ulemas.

In 1969 the conservative elements in the "royal family" and the Shura--the council of ministers--supported by the ulemas, came to the fore. Exploiting Faysal's poor health they developed plans designed to overthrow the government and abolish the Shura. The latter was to be replaced by an "advisory council" composed of the 12 oldest members of the "royal family." The attempted coup was discovered, however, and Faysal's authority sufficed to cut short the conservatives activities.

The political conflicts and rivalries within the "royal family" emphasize the issue of succession in particular. Those familiar with Saudi Arabian conditions were therefore surprised at the speedy settlement of the succession following Faysal's death.

The Succession Issue

In 1975 King Khaled succeeded in assuming power without complications, but unrest remained within the "royal family." Speculations persisted regarding King Khaled's possible dethronement for health reasons. When, in 1977, such rumors about the king (who has cardiac trouble) reached the British press, Faysal al-Huyaylan, Saudi Arabian ambassador in London, issued an official denial.

Given the large size of the ruling family the issue of the balance of power is difficult to resolve. In addition this balancing act is subject to constant foreign and domestic developments. It is therefore a matter of priority in the succession issue to select a candidate who will not significantly disrupt the balance of power within the "royal family." Consequently the competence of the king to be elected, the crown prince and ministers from the royal family is of secondary importance. However, as the sons of founder king 'Abd al-Aziz do in principle hold the right to succession, it is impossible to follow the decision once made by 'Abd al-Aziz, according to which the king's oldest son should succeed. The "royal family" offered serious resistance, for example, when Saud tried to nominate his eldest son Fahad crown prince. This example clearly demonstrates the power held by the sons of 'Abd al-Aziz, that is the first generation of princes, by comparison to the second or third generation. Saud was eventually compelled to yield to the pressure of his brothers and appoint his brother Faysal crown prince.

In Saudi Arabia's recent history the role of the crown prince has always been subject to domestic developments. Of crucial importance is the personality and the political commitment or competence of the king. In fact, and especially by his function as the permanent chairman of the Shura, the crown prince acts as the prime minister of the country. The political line to be pursued at home and abroad depends on him, and so do the strategies used in this pursuit. The council of ministers decides by a two third majority. Should the votes be evenly balanced, the prime minister decides by virtue of his function as "chairman of the cabinet." In fact the king has delegated a great deal of power to the council of ministers. In the matter of the crown prince it is also a fact that personality and competence are crucial. When Faysal was crown prince, for example, the Shura--directed by him--largely decided Saudi Arabian politics. When he became king the council of ministers had to accept a subordinate role because Faysal retained for himself various internal and foreign political decisions. The Shura accordingly restricted itself to advisory functions, because the king is the fount of supreme decision making powers. In his person he unites the functions of a head of state, an imam (religious leadership) and chief of the clan. He embodies the summit of executive, legislative and judicial functions.

He is followed by the crown prince as the second most powerful decision maker. When Khaled ascended to the throne, many influential princes hoped to be able to influence the ailing king who had earlier shown little commitment. "To the surprise of all, however, the new king displayed a distinctive profile quite early on. He replaced incompetent princes by technocrats and cut the revenues of some members of the ruling house. He also surrounded himself with men who are not members of the royal clan, such as Kamal 'Adham who had earlier been Faysal's adviser, and bourgeois ministers 'Alawi Darwish Kayyal (telecommunications) and Ahmad Zaki Yamani (oil)." (DER SPIEGEL, January 1977) All the same, following the Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement, and when Saudi Arabia gradually began to pursue an anti-

Egyptian course after the Baghdad summit meeting, Khaled dismissed Kamal 'Adham, the architect of Egyptian-Saudi Arabian relations.

Another power concentration developed within a small group counting among its members Crown Prince Fahd, that is the de facto prime minister, Prince Abdullah ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, commander of the 20,000 strong National Guard, Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani, minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Prince Sultan, defense minister, and Prince Saud al Faysal, foreign minister. However, this power group has now dissolved. Currently, that is after the Baghdad summit, a pro-American and a nationalist or pro-Arab faction emerged. The king must try to ensure the balance of power and maintain his pre-eminence. Khaled asserted his sovereignty when he lent his support to the Baghdad summit despite many objections by the pro-American circles (these include Prince Fahd, Sheikh Ahmad Yamani and others). In the exercise of his power he depends on the loyalty of the armed forces and the administration, also on the possibility of controlling the regionally powerful governors.

When Khaled began his reign it was assumed that, due to his traditional education and Wahhabite principles, he would not be able easily to collaborate with the Western educated members of the Shura. Yet Khaled evidently succeeded in establishing harmony within Saudi Arabia's ruling elites, that is between the "royal family," the religious establishment, the rich businessmen and influential clan chiefs.

The elites are in constant contact with the king, the prime minister and the various ministers. It is therefore difficult for the ordinary citizen to achieve anything without a contact man who has the necessary access to influential persons. In the age of 'Abd al-Aziz the king himself--but also the princes--maintained direct contact with the common people. Often the king himself listened to the people's complaints and needs, suggesting possible remedies. This state of affairs has changed a great deal as a consequence of increasing bureaucratization. The Shura was established in 1953, the very year of 'Abd al-Aziz' death.

The 'Royal Family' and the 'Shura'

The Shura, also called "Mazhlis al-Wuzara," is an institution where the "royal family" and the senior representatives of the "new middle class," the Western educated ministers and their deputies collaborate in close contact. The king appoints the chairman of the council of ministers, hitherto invariably the crown prince. The deputy prime minister and the various ministers are appointed by the king on the suggestion of the prime minister. The ministers are responsible to the prime minister, the latter to the king. The king may dismiss any minister at the suggestion of the prime minister. The resignation of the prime minister is tantamount to the dissolution of the Shura. The prime minister is responsible for the general of government policy, the Shura for the budget. International treaties require the approval of the council of ministers. The king may veto Shura decisions. If

he fails within 30 days to submit an alternative suggestion to the Shura or does nothing at all, a decision is deemed to have been accepted by the king and takes effect.

This explanation demonstrates the importance of the Shura, its now increased role within the decision making process of the Saudi Arabian system. Also evident is the strong position of the prime minister/crown prince. Prince Fahd, the present crown prince, is generally considered in the West to be the Saudi Arabian "strong man," and Faysal was so considered when holding the same office under King Saud.

In fact the chairman of the Shura is the most powerful decision maker. Not only is he the king's representative in the Shura, he also has the greatest influence on all domestic and foreign political events and commands the necessary information. Viewed from this angle the ministers appear to be advisers who help the king's representative arrive at an appropriate decision. A significant role in the decision making process also pertains to some ancillary committees such as the oil and finance advisory council headed by the crown prince, or the "Saudi Fund for Development" subordinated to the foreign minister. It may be assumed with some confidence that the crown prince is able to make his standpoint prevail even if the majority of ministers disagree with him. Ultimately he depends on the "royal family" and represents the will of the king.

Basic foreign policy decisions, such as Islamic orientation or anticomunism, are guiding principles which commit the king to an unequivocal stand. Those issues which actually require technical competence are dealt with in the Shura. In his book "Oil, Power and Politics" (London 1976) Mondechai Abir even asserts that "Faysal and his government do not adopt any important decision, whether in the foreign political or domestic area, without consulting the Shura and ensuring the assent of the majority.

It should not be forgotten, though, that in case the king insists on pursuing a certain course with regard to ideological issues, the prime minister and the other ministers have no choice but bow to his decision. It is the nature of an absolute monarchy to enforce one-man decisions if necessary. That, however, is a rare occurrence. We should therefore revise the opinion prevailing in the West of the absolute and centralized rule of the Saudi Arabian king.

The king is further restricted in his scope by various groupings and the religious law. The Shura therefore has actually more room for maneuver vis-a-vis the public and acts on behalf of the king. The public, though, is unaware of the extent of the power held by the Shura. That is the consequence of a media policy which focuses on the king as the center of the decision making process.

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SAUDI ARABIA

PLANNING MINISTER DISCUSSES NEW DEVELOPMENT PLAN

DAWAN AL-IQTISAD in Arabic Apr 80 pp 10-14

[Article: "Planning Minister Talks About the Features and Strategy of the Third Development Plan"]

[Text] The university of Petroleum and minerals at Dhahran held an open seminar with Planning Minister His Highness Shaykh Hisham Nazir. The seminar revolved around all aspects of the kingdom's third five-year plan, and its features and strategy. Shaykh Hisham Nazir answered the questions of professors and students at the University of Petroleum and Minerals, all of which touched on important aspects of the third five-year plan.

The planning minister's talk was characterized by objectivity and frank realism. He said, "The coming stage requires more productivity from everyone, and a desire to make greater efforts, so that we may attain, through our third plan, the aspiration of achieving greater growth and progress."

Preface

At the beginning of the seminar, Planning Minister Shaykh Hisham Nazir said, "As you know, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is in a unique position, and on this basis occupies a unique situation in history as well.

"This unique situation has reasons which divide the kingdom's development goals into two groups--fixed and changeable. I shall speak of both briefly.

"The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was a dormant country, as you know, depending on a single source of income which made up more than 75 percent of total local production, and more than 100 percent of the state budget. This sole source of income, as you also know, is an exhaustible one, the existence of which ends with its extraction. In addition, it is surrounded, as you know, by political and economic variables over which we quite often have no control. Therefore, an obvious starting point for the kingdom's development must be an attempt to reduce dependence on petroleum as the sole, basic source of income, no matter how long that takes.

"The kingdom is also a country with a history and civilization arising from its being the motherland of the Islamic religion. Therefore, when development goals are determined, the level of this country's religious and cultural values must be maintained. New things must not be introduced, or goals devised, without making sure that they are consistent with religious doctrine and history.

"Therefore, when you see these fixed goals, which existed in the first development plan, which were also written into the second plan, and which you will see, God willing, in the third plan, you must not be surprised, because this country's fixed goals are not changed by any plan.

"Now we come to the variables. You know that in the first and second plans we concentrated on investment in infrastructures, in view of the fact that the developmental leap could not be achieved unless these infrastructures were present.

"We have not yet finished with all the utility infrastructures needed by our country; I imagine that we will need more than one plan to complete all these infrastructures. But surely we will not need infrastructures on the same scale as the ones in which we invested about 80 percent of the total funds for the second plan.

"Therefore, we would like the course of new development in the third development plan to concentrate to a greater extent on other productive tools, and on training manpower, which is in fact the greatest stumbling block to development in the kingdom, and which in fact is a goal which cannot be achieved except in the long run."

Shaykh Nazir went on, "Although we took these points into consideration, I would like to add that in drawing up the plan we followed a new method which we had definitely not followed in the first or second plan. That is, we, or more properly the cabinet, called on 14 young Saudis with various specializations and expertise to draw up a strategy to be adopted by the plan's projects. These young men met for more than 6 months at the Planning Ministry, where they were provided with all the information they needed, and wrote up that strategy according to which we are operating at the present time.

"That is to say, the third development plan was thought up by Saudis, is now being touched up by Saudis, and will be implemented, God willing, by Saudis who believe in it."

Compulsory Conscription

In response to a question about the compulsory conscription system and how this system can be reconciled with the third development plan, which primarily relies on young people, Shaykh Hisham Nazir said, "We consider compulsory conscription to be necessary, not just for security and national reasons, but as a source of social upbringing.

"As you know, compulsory conscription, in addition to its educational features, will fill one of the armed forces' manpower gaps. In any case, it will take into consideration some unavoidable points in the scale of social circumstances, such as university studies and other organized studies, under certain conditions."

Women's Share in the Plan

In response to a question about women's role in the third development plan, Shaykh Hisham Nazir said, "This topic was raised earlier at the meeting in which students at Riyadh University participated, and which stressed that the kingdom must be developed by its men and women. That is, the role which the Saudi citizen plays should be determined by his educational and personal abilities. In this context, I don't want to discriminate between women and men, neither from the standpoint of participation nor from the standpoint of usefulness. What I want to say is that the kingdom has certain considerations as an Islamic country. Within the boundaries of the potential for female participation in the kingdom's development in the Islamic context, there is absolutely nothing prohibiting that, either legally or objectively."

"The question must not be: Can women participate in the kingdom's development or not? The question which we must answer is this: In what agreed-upon fields can women contribute to the kingdom by their working in them?"

"I would like to say that this very point is covered by the strategy, and that the area of discussion was the fields, and not female participation per se."

Developing Citizen Cooperation

To a question about the plan's role in developing citizen cooperation, His Highness the planning minister replied, "Before answering this question, I hope that we all understand the plan. The plan is not just a written work which can be described as all-inclusive. For this reason, I hope, and I have said this before about the second development plan, that the citizens will not expect that they can look in the plan's table of contents for an answer to any problem facing them. But I would like to say, as an official, that we are a young country which has just recently begun pursuing its development, and that obligations have crowded around us, as well as responsibilities. At the same time, our small population makes it difficult, if we take all these factors into consideration, for us to achieve outstanding production in every sphere and on every level within the allotted time. This applies to the question with respect to making the citizen aware."

"How can we create an aware citizenry? There are many directions. There is the home method, through the upbringing provided by the father and mother, and the family in general. If our children do not see us behaving properly, we scold them for doing something similar later on. In addition to the home, there is the school. Society has a great influence on the child's upbringing and the creation of a spirit of citizenship, and it plays a great part in making the citizens aware. In addition to this second method, there is a

third method, the information media, whether these media be public property like radio and television or private property like the press. Writers and announcers contribute a great deal towards creating the proper awareness.

"In addition to all this, there is the willingness of the citizen himself to accept guidance and adhere to it. Finally, there is also the deterrent method. However, some of us must have noticed how in some foreign countries the civilian citizen performs the functions of policeman when he observes certain violations being perpetrated by other citizens. I don't imagine that we have to attain this level, but I do believe that talking about it will play a big part in spreading this awareness.

"For example, one of my concerns, before entering my office every morning, is to see which employees are parking their cars on the sidewalk in front of the ministry, and I tell those who are doing it to get their cars off the sidewalk. This, for example, is a strange thing for them to do.

"We build sidewalks so that pedestrians can use them. Sidewalks ought to be a safe place, because there are children coming out of school walking along them, and other people as well. Therefore, parking cars on the sidewalk is really a rude thing to do, and infringes on the rights of others.

"All of us, when we see such a violation, ought to help stop it by guidance and persuasion, unless the matter ultimately requires the use of the deterrent method."

The Citizens' Participation in the State

To a question about how to induce the citizens to help the state bear some of the burdens of the third development plan, as well as participate in political decision making, Shaykh Hisham Nazir replied, "A little while ago I said that one must not view the plan as something written down. It is a development program, not a political or a party program. But I will answer this question as an official of the country on the one hand, and as a seeker of knowledge on the other hand.

"As for the people's reliance on the state and the attempt to create a spirit of coexistence, I believe that this is due to a number of reasons. First of all, we have not had this sort of civilized participation in government, at least in our modern history, and therefore we find that the people feel that they are entitled to receive services from the state. Then, we hear and have begun to believe that we are a rich country with unlimited resources. In fact, we, or some of us, have become enchanted with this song, and this is one of the reasons I mentioned at the start of my talk for the fact that we are a country which relies on a single source of income. In fact, not only is it a single source of income, but it is an exhaustible one, and when I replied to the question about compulsory conscription that it was not just a patriotic necessity for national security, I was viewing it, as planning minister, as a means of education which would absorb much of the instability, effeminacy and indifference which has alarmingly and surely begun infiltrating our young people."

The Services Provided By the State

With respect to the possibility of the citizens' sharing some of the state's burdens, Shaykh Hisham Nazir said, "I don't want to go from this stage to income taxes, for example, but I will concentrate in particular on services. Here are some examples of the truth of my remark. Tickets on Saudia actually cost the citizen about 30 percent of their real cost, which means that we are paying 70 percent of the costs. As a result, investments in airplanes and equipment take from us huge sums of money which we could perhaps better direct towards investment in public utilities. But we cannot, because of the growing number of air travellers.

"For example, a first-class ticket from Jiddah to Madinah is cheaper than the cost of a taxi, and therefore the people don't ride taxis. If the citizens enjoy utilities for which they do not pay the real costs, they might mis-use these utilities. This also might be at the expense of a greater benefit which might result if we shifted our investments to other fields."

Electricity Consumption

"Electricity, for example, is another matter. I personally believe that the state has to help out, and even bear part of the cost, for low-income citizens, but there is no material basis or moral justification for our bearing the costs for those who can afford to pay.

"In some cities, electricity consumption has increased about 60 percent each year, and there are no factories producing the equipment we need to increase electricity generation fast enough each year to meet this consumption. Some citizens now believe that this low level of electric power must be maintained, but this in fact would be at the expense of power outages, and at the expense of citizens who build their homes in places where we cannot extend electricity. All of this is in fact the drawback to the method which we are following, which we believe is the most compassionate method for the citizens. But the citizens must realize that this method will not always be the most compassionate for them; that it would be in their interest for service costs to be equal or at least close to their real costs, so that the citizen can truly enjoy them, and so that we can stop our wastefulness with some utilities.

"For example, there are a great many people who take summer vacations and leave their air conditioners running so that the furniture is not spoiled. In this case, they pay a reduced cost, but at the expense of other citizens who spend part of the night with a power failure. Let me shift this idea to other utilities, water for example. If we were to pay just a little bit for garbage collection, you would find that many people would stop throwing garbage anywhere, a situation injurious to us all.

"I believe that we all, just like the citizens who are truly benefitting from the development programs, must support and protect these programs so that we will not be hurt by them later on, in order to encourage methods of utilizing what is actually available.

"All of this is a subject for deep thought among ourselves at the Planning Ministry, because we figure that the day will come when the state will not be able to meet all these costs."

Development of Political Organizations

Shaykh Nazir added, "I would like to move on now to the development of political organizations in step with the development we are witnessing in economic growth. No doubt there are many factors contributing to the viewpoint, from college professors and intellectuals in various fields, but they are unorganized, as I have mentioned.

"This was what convinced His Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz of the need to create a legislative council which would help draw up statutes and laws which the cabinet would devote itself to implementing. The man promised you this and said he would carry it out, and I hope that we will all help him in achieving this."

Development of Manpower Resources

To a question about how the third plan will develop manpower resources, Shaykh Hisham Nazir replied, "During my talk I mentioned that the prime stumbling block to the kingdom's development is in fact the shortage of trained manpower, and that this shortage will naturally have to be dealt with in the long run, because it will take that long to graduate students from the various educational levels, including the university level, and to try to train them in their fields of work after their graduation. Therefore, it is obvious that the primary concentration will be on the educational level, by increasing the enrollment capacity of educational institutions as well as professional centers which graduate trained manpower.

"There is a third method on which we will concentrate this time, and that is on-the-job training, at organizations which are performing jobs of a specifically technical nature, such as the Royal Commission for Yanbu' and Jubayl, the International Airports Administration, or the General Management Institute.

"In addition to these methods, there will be a certain amount of change in the methods. For example, there will be a special review of the incentives paid to get citizens to enroll in professional training. There will also be a special review of the locations where professional training centers are established, so that they will have some relation to population density and areas of high unemployment. Then there will be compulsory conscription, which I talked about a little while ago."

Utilizing the expertise of University Professors

In response to a question about the incomplete utilization of the expertise of some groups, such as university professors, Shaykh Hisham Nazir said, "Truthfully, if I wanted to answer the university professors, with two professors on my right and one on my left and a number of them in front of me,

how could you expect me to speak with complete objectivity? How could you make me answer and be convinced of my answer? I would like to say that if any man has some time which he cannot fill, that is his fault. That is to say, I, as an official in a certain sector, am looking on the market for a skill which I need and use. I cannot use the services of a university professor just because he is a university professor--I use his services because I need them. Otherwise, I don't need him.

"For example, I needed two economists for the Planning Ministry. My need for those two economists is not the same as my need for chemists or Arabic linguists. The existence of a surplus in this respect is not my fault, but is either the fault of the other party or is because a profession is like any commodity, subject to the laws of supply and demand.

"I don't imagine, and I say this with all honesty with all the professors listening, that the university professor sits here and expects to be courted. The university professor sells, and is not courted--he sells his skill, knowledge and accomplishment. Furthermore, I don't imagine that any university professor can claim to have spare time. Where is the research that we want to see performed at the universities? Where are the books which we want to see flooding our libraries? Where are the lectures to be delivered at seminars and organizations, which will be conducive to citizen awareness?

"Therefore, the teaching profession must in fact be a teaching, research and writing profession. Anything else the professor pursues must be in addition to these matters, not a substitute for them."

The Strategy of the Third Plan

In response to a question about the third plan's strategy for limiting inflation, Shaykh Hisham Nazir said, "At the beginning of the third plan, the kingdom's inflation was in fact one of the obstacles which put great pressure on us. We did not make any changes in the second plan in order to reduce the severity of inflation; in fact, we followed the methods I have mentioned above in order to combat it.

"The first reason for inflation in the second plan was quality, with respect to equipment. Because of its scarcity or occasional absence, it caused many problems. For example, let me mention the ports. Our port capacity was low, because of port congestion, which sometimes caused a 6-month waiting period before a ship could unload. This caused a rise in prices.

"As for the ports themselves, there was foreign exploitation. The shippers would ship our goods on old, dilapidated ships, and would recover the value of these ships from insurance and from the fines which usually accompanied the delay in unloading at the ports.

"There was also a bottleneck during the early years, caused by the lack of sufficient living quarters. There were other bottlenecks--for example, the preparation of available trucks to transport the goods, and sometimes even the number of drivers available to transport the goods.

"What I am trying to point out by means of these examples is that inflation initially pertained to aspects of equipment.

"There were other reasons, one of which was the imported inflation, related to the rise in living costs in the countries exporting goods, commodities and services to the kingdom.

"There was also another reason--some services were shifted from the profession in which they were usually practiced to another profession which was not nationally productive but was personally rewarding, such as the real estate market."

Breaking Up the Bottlenecks

"The kingdom dealt comprehensively with this matter in the famous Decree No 448. With respect to bottlenecks, there was a general breaking-up of them; for example, port capacity increased. Now, at the end of the plan, we have 120 piers, and the waiting period at the ports has dropped from 120 days to none at all at the present time. In addition to improving administration, we are at present following policies which reach outside our country. For instance, we have prohibited the shipping of goods into the kingdom on ships more than 15 years old, to prevent the use of old ships which don't have the equipment to enable quick unloading, and we have changed many of the administrative methods.

"With respect to housing, we have prohibited companies which have more than 100 million in contracts, or which have a certain number of foreign workers, from renting housing in the cities, and we have forced them to build housing for their laborers and employees at the project sites, thereby reducing the pressure on the urban housing market.

"There are other corresponding methods. For example, we have reduced expenses, not by stopping projects, but by reducing their size, or by scaling them down to the right size which would not require a huge labor force or large amounts of material.

"We have also followed certain methods with respect to materials, such as the cement silos now in existence at the ports. There are piers specifically assigned for unloading cements. We have also opened up employment to meet the needs of those sectors which had caused the bottlenecks, such as truck drivers, as I have mentioned.

"Therefore, the attack on inflation is really taking place on a number of fronts. As I mentioned, the kingdom has been able to reduce the rate of inflation from about 55 percent to 10 percent at the present time.

"The danger of inflation is still present, especially since inflation accompanies haphazard expenditures and, sometimes, uncoordinated project schedules. We will take these two questions into consideration as much as possible during the third plan."

SAUDI ARABIA

HIGH PRICES CAUSE REFUSAL OF BIDS ON DESALINATION

Tiddah ARAB NEWS in English 17 May 80 p 3

[Text]

JEDDAH, May 16 — The four companies struck off the list of bidders for a desalination contract will not be blacklisted permanently, according to Islam Jamjoom, vice-governor for technical affairs of the Saline Water conversion Corporation.

Speaking to *Saudi Business*, Jamjoom said the companies will not be invited on this project anymore. The consortia leaders involved are C. Itoh, IHI of Japan, Wagner Biro of Austria and Technic of France.

If, as seems likely, SWCC puts the job back on the market again (at a total cost estimate at less than \$ 200 million), it will be at least the fourth attempt at tendering or formally demanding revised proposals outside the bustle of negotiations in the search for a bid that matches SWCC's budget.

The main reason for the cancellation, Jamjoom said "was the extra cost that SWCC can't accept from any company in the world. Contractors quote high prices and think we are going to accept them. But now we have the information and experience at SWCC to know if they are fair."

Attempts to persuade them to reduce their prices failed. The Minister of Agriculture and Water, Dr. Abdul Rahman Al Sheikh, who is also chairman of the SWCC board approved the ban.

As long ago as August 1978, the four banned consortia (together with several others) put in their first bids for the five million gallons a day at Khafji II multistage flash desalter. At that time it was dual-purpose project, which would have also produced 50 megawatts of electricity for Khafji. The town, located just south of the Saudi-Kuwaiti

Neutral Zone, is best known as the headquarters of the Arabian Oil Company. The first bids, according to contracting officials, were cancelled because SWCC was unhappy with the price. Seven consortia put in new bids, but these too were unacceptable and SWCC demanded a revised proposal for November of last year.

During negotiations after the tender's close, all the bidders were asked to improve their proposals. They all did, but to no avail.

Only the four consortia now banned were left for the second and final revised proposal, which went in during February. For this round of bidding, SWCC's technicians revised the specifications to exclude electricity generation after the electricity corporation of the Eastern Province agreed to fill the gap, according to Jamjoom.

"We tried to give them another chance by reducing the project to single purpose," he said. "But they did not take it."

Jamjoom declined to talk figures, and the consortia themselves are unsure of their competitors' bids or even their composition; they have never been collectively revealed. The last revisions, however, are believed to have cut back some of the civil works (largely staff housing, with services worth up to half of the job's total value) as well as electricity generation.

Negotiations, at times reportedly heated, brought the bids down still further after February. At one point, Jamjoom threatened action if the consortia could not comply with SWCC's requirements. SWCC apparently never specified exactly what those requirements are, and the consortia failed to meet them. The contractors are said to believe they

could go no lower without suffering a loss on the project.

Khafji II was designed by Sanderson and Porter of the United States, but for the best part of the year, SWCC's own technicians have been evaluating proposals and revising specifications. Though Sanderson and Porter had three contracts in the Kingdom (all with SWCC), earlier this year its entire staff left in the wake of U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission hearings into its Saudi practices under the U.S. Corrupt Practices Act.

Sanderson and Porter were dropped from the Khafji II job, according to Jamjoom, because "they were not giving us the services that we required."

As a result of Sanderson and Porter's departure, Khafji II has become the first SWCC project to be handled without consultation. Jamjoom points to this proudly as an indication that the Saline Water Conversion Corporation has developed a sufficient nucleus of technical experts to competently continue projects without consultants.

Throughout its 15-year history and in particular its last, most active five years, SWCC has developed models, samples of bid evaluation formulas, specification standards and project costs per gallon a day and per megawatt. In the case of Khafji II, Jamjoom said SWCC's expectations fully accounted for inflationary cost increases and the relatively high cost per unit of production for a small plant. (Unit capital costs go down drastically as production volumes increase).

Jamjoom ruled out a possible "price ring" among the bidders to keep bids high and share the increased profit. Contractors say this is virtually impossible anyway, given the Kingdom's highly competitive construction market.

CSO: 4820

GROWTH OF ARMED FORCES REVIEWED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 11 Mar 80 p 8

[Article by LTC al-Haytham al-Ayubi: "Syrian Armed Forces: A National Instrument in Service of Supreme National Goals"]

[Excerpts] The Syrian Command has placed national duty in defense of the Arab nation above country needs. The Command learned many lessons from the 1967 War on how to develop the Armed Forces and increase their effectiveness. A change in 1970 to prepare the Armed Forces to fight the October [1973] War. Concentration on fully mechanizing the Armed Forces and strengthening air defense following the October War. Syria holds a leadership position in the Arab camp which rejects Sadat's apostasy and the Camp David plans.

From the beginning of the sixties, Syria has had to confront two basic problems: Socioeconomic growth to cast off inherited underdevelopment, and the strengthening of defensive capabilities to participate in confronting the Zionist aggression which is backed by the forces of world imperialism.

New Leap After Sadat Withdraws from the Battle

The truth is that in the 1967-1980 period, Syrian Armed Forces made a quantitative and qualitative leap, raising their numbers from 177,000 to 277,500 men. Their equipment increased as follows: Tanks from 2,000 to 2,600, armored vehicles from 1,200-1,300 to 1,600, and guns from 800 to 900. It is noted that the ratio of tanks (T-62) became greater. Self-propelled guns and armored combat vehicles also took a more extensive position. Anti-aircraft and antitank resources improved with the introduction of new rockets. Airborne forces grew to four battalions with more than 100 helicopters at their disposal. In 1975, they numbered 3 battalions with only 50 helicopters at their disposal. With this, Syria came to own the greatest Arab military force in the camp which opposes

the Sadat and Camp David plan and the accord which Washington planned, blessed after it was signed and is still trying to expand by drawing other Arab parties into it.

Thanks to this force, Syria's position adjacent to the Zionist bridgehead, and the Arab Nationalist doctrine which governs Syrian programs, plans and higher policies, it was natural that Damascus would take a position of leadership in the Arab camp which opposes the apostasy. It was also natural that Syrian political leadership would be concerned with developing the Armed Forces to a level commensurate with the Arab Nationalist effort expected of it, even if at the expense of country growth. Syria for years has allocated 15-16 percent of its national income to the Armed Forces. This percentage increased in 1979, reaching 19-20 percent. In addition to this, the Armed Forces draw a large share of the [nation's] technical capabilities, and freeze a high percentage of the workforce through their military service for a period of 30 months.

From an analysis of Table 1, taken from data of the Strategic Studies Center in London, we note the following facts:

1. The military service period in Syria is longer than its like in any other Arab country.
2. The size of the Syrian Armed Forces (men, equipment and weapons), is greater than the size of the armed forces in any other Arab country (except Egypt), despite the fact that some of the countries found in the table are wealthier than Syria, or more populous.
3. If we exclude the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we find the Syrian defense budget greater than the defense budget of any other Arab nation (except Egypt). It is approximately equal to the total budgets of five Arab nations (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, the Sudan and Lebanon). It is even larger than the Iraqi budget, despite the fact that Syrian national income equals 45 percent of the Iraqi national income.

So far, the Armed Forces have achieved progress which places them in the ranks of modern nonnuclear armies. This would not have happened were it not for the readiness of the people of the Arab country of Syria to tighten their belts in order to build the machinery of liberty and honor. In this area, we cannot forget the material support which the wealthy Arab nations have given Syria in the framework of supporting steadfastness, the armament and technical assistance offered by friendly nations (foremost among them the Soviet Union) and the attention which the Syrian Command has devoted to building a military force which is capable of serving the Arab Nationalist cause and qualified to be the core around which Arab military efforts can coalesce in confronting the Zionist aggression.

Table 1. Armed Forces Data in Certain Arab Nations (1979)

Country	Population (millions)	Armed Forces Count (thousands)	Public Service Period (months)	National Income (millions \$)	Arment Expenditures (millions \$)	Medium Tanks	Armored Combat Vehicles	Combat Aircraft
Syria	8.3	227	30	7.0	2.04	2,600	1,700	369
Iraq	12.7	222	36	15.5	2.02	1,800	1,700	339
Algeria	19.0	89	6	16.0	0.605	240	540	260
Morocco	19.0	98	18	9.5	0.916	140	546	72
Tunisia	6.4	22	12	5.8	0.145	-	35	14
Saudi Arabia	8.0	64	-	64.0	14.18	350	600	176
Sudan	21.0	63	-	6.0	0.244	130	415	36
Lebanon	2.7	9	-	3.4	0.235	-	50-60	16
Libya	2.8	42	-	19.0	0.448	2,000	1,350	201

Table 2. Growth in Numbers of Armed Forces in the Militarily Most Important Mideast Nations (thousands), 1970-1979

Country Year	Syria	Egypt	Algeria	Saudi Arabia	Iraq	Jordan	Libya	Morocco	Sudan
1970	70.5	207.0	57.0	34.0	78.0	55.0	15.0	50.0	37.4
1971	86.7	288.0	57.0	36.0	94.5	60.2	15.0	50.0	37.4
1972	111.7	318.0	60.2	41.0	95.2	60.2	22.0	57.5	37.1
1973	111.7	325.5	62.2	40.5	101.8	69.2	25.0	53.5	36.3
1974	132.0	298.0	63.0	42.5	101.8	72.8	25.0	56.0	38.6
1975	177.5	322.5	63.0	47.0	135.0	80.2	32.0	61.0	48.6
1976	227.5	342.5	69.3	51.5	158.0	67.9	29.7	73.0	52.6
1977	227.5	345.5	75.8	61.5	188.0	67.8	29.2	84.7	52.1
1978	227.5	395.0	78.8	58.5	212.0	67.9	37.0	89.0	52.1
1979	227.5	395.0	88.6	64.5	222.0	67.2	42.0	98.0	62.9

Table 3. Defense Expenditures in the Militarily Most Important Mideast Nations (\$ millions), 1970-1979

Year Country	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Syria	176	176	251	377	460	668	1003	1068	1121	2036
Egypt	1262	1495	1493	2757	4071	6103	4859	4370	2810	3168
Algeria	184	99	100	376	404	285	312	397	456	605
Saudi Arabia	387	383	941	1478	1808	6771	9038	7539	13170	14184
Iraq	294	237	310	467	803	1191	1417	1660	2020	?
Jordan	105	90	119	125	142	155	155	201	304	381
Libya	84	84	120	145	402	203	299	338	448	?
Morocco	84	97	124	195	190	224	258	346	681	917
Sudan	109	133	120	114	118	120	146	237	244	?

PRIME MINISTER PUSHES AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 29 Feb 80 p 6

[Article: "Spotlight on statement of al-Kasm Government: 'Agriculture is the Basis of Our Economic Growth for the Next Phase'"]

[Text] In the government statement, Prime Minister al-Kasm asserted: "Domestic work in the next phase requires dealing with the roots of existing problems which are piling up. This would enable the government to address itself directly to basic issues so as to convert plans and programs into an element of a domestic formula for fundamental and universal change in regulations and responsibilities. This effort would seek to discover decisively and objectively all flaws, and eliminate all forms of waste, ineptitude, excess and neglect from the sphere of relations which unite the authorities and the people. Work will concentrate first of all on achieving a close balance between production and consumption; between wages and prices; and between growth objectives and plans for the utilization of labor and of technical and economic resources. The Government will seek to protect Syria's strategic capital of brains, cadres and know-how, and to build a state which is modern in terms of methods of operation, organization, and relations with the citizens. The prime minister thus defined the purpose and basic objectives of Syrian domestic policy in the next phase as building a society in which the needs and liberties of the citizen are satisfied.

A quick preliminary review of the al-Kasm government statement indicates that the most important concern defined by the new architect is concentration on the agricultural sector and the agricultural issue. We shall confine our discussion to this issue because it forms the backbone of the Syrian economy and the rod on which it can be propped. Question: "Why did the government of Dr 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Kasm consider agriculture the primary pillar and issue?"

Let us hear some of the facts which indicate the answer.

BRIEFS

WOMEN'S FEDERATION VISITS CUBA--A delegation from the General Federation of Women left Damascus today for Cuba. It is headed by Ms Madhur Makhlutah, vice president of the federation and head of the Organization, Planning and Statistics Office, and includes Ms Subhiyah al-Shaykh Ibrahim, head of the Latakia branch of the Women's Federation. This was to attend the Cuban Women's Conference in Havana. [Text] [Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 29 Feb 80 p 2] 9605

CSO: 4802

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

IMMIGRATION CONTROL--Abu Dhabi, 22 May--An official committee has found that 35 per cent of the United Arab Emirates' (UAE) population of one million are living in the country illegally, the semi-official newspaper AL-ITTIHAD said today. The paper quoted informed sources as saying that on the basis of this figure and other information on foreigners in the UAE, the committee would recommend tighter Government immigration controls, including coastal patrols by motorboats to stop illegal arrivals. The UAE has already tightened its labour laws, giving foreigners working illegally until June 21 to put their papers in order or be deported, as the Government grapples with a problem which is worrying all the Gulf states. Saudi Arabia's Interior Minister Prince Nayef recently called for a cut in the number of foreigners coming to work in the kingdom, where unofficial estimates say they now make up three quarters of the workforce. The Gulf states have small native populations and have had to import workers as their economies boom with rising revenues from oil exports. The majority of foreign workers are Asians, especially Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Officials have warned of the danger of Asian immigrants swamping the Arab population of the Gulf. Bahrain's Labour Minister Sheikh Isa Bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa said recently: "The phenomenon of Asian workers settling in the Gulf area could cause an upset in the social and population balance." Bahrain is working on plans to restrict certain professions to Arab nationals and neighbouring Qatar has followed the UAE in tightening labour laws, giving foreigners until June 11 to put work papers in order. [Text] [Rangoon THE WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY in English 24 May 80 p 2]

CSO: 4820

POLISARIO TAKES REPORTERS TO MOROCCAN TERRITORY

London WEST AFRICA in English 2 Jun 80 pp 996-997

[Text] To prove that they still control Southern Morocco, Polisario Front guerrillas took two Western journalists on a hike on May 16 ending at the highest point of Ouarkziz Mountains, opposite the Moroccan town of Assa. Waiting for us on a 600-metre (about 1,800 feet) high peak overlooking the Oued-Draa Valley was the Defence Minister of Polisario's Sahrawi Democratic Arab Republic, Ibrahim Ghali, who said: "Last March, after the Moroccan defeat at Ouarkziz, the Polisario Front Secretary-General received you at the foot of the range. Today, I receive you at the summit. Tomorrow, it will perhaps be beyond Oued-Draa, even further inside Morocco."

Mr Ibrahim Ghali minimised Moroccan reports of a recent Polisario defeat in the region, saying that the opening of a corridor to relieve the Moroccan garrison of Zaak, under siege from the Polisario for several months, was by no means a defeat for the guerrillas. "On the contrary, it was a strategic victory for us, insofar as we have succeeded in forcing the Moroccan Army Command to mobilise 26,000 men and a considerable amount of equipment for a single operation in Moroccan territory, thus removing the major part of Moroccan forces from Western Sahara," he said, adding that "our aim is not to conquer Moroccan territory, but to liberate our own land."

The Defence Minister said that "the cream of the Moroccan forces was mobilised to relieve Zaak, that is to say seven regiments together with the remains of the mobile 'Ouhoud' and 'Zallak' units which were dismembered in the same region in March, and the men of the Zaak garrison, not to mention aircraft and armoured cars."

He said the Moroccan forces succeeded in relieving the Zaak garrison after two "bloody defeat," but that they "had to pay the price." The garrison continued to be subjected to heavy artillery fire from Polisario, he added. This was proved by the start of evacuation of the local population. Mr Ibrahim Ghali said that, aside from the Zaak area, all of the central region of Southern Morocco remained under the "total control" of Polisario forces.

Reiterating the Polisario Front tactic of maintaining the initiative on the ground and striking from positions and at targets of its own choosing, he said: "In this respect we reject the classical warfare that the Moroccans seek to impose upon us." He added: "We are sorry to receive you on Moroccan territory. We would have preferred to do so at El Ayoun, capital of the Saharan Republic. But this is war. It is King Hassan II who is responsible for this situation, which we did not want," reported AFP.

CSO: 4420

WESTERN SAHARA

BRIEFS

POLISARIO COMMUNIQUE--Polisario guerrillas have announced that they had killed 57 Moroccan soldiers in an attack on the southern Moroccan outpost of Abettih. Polisario said in a communique issued in Algiers that 21 Moroccan soldiers were wounded in the attack. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 2 Jun 80 p 997]

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